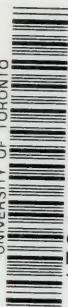


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THE STORY OF FRANCE

1814-1914



THE CZAR OF RUSSIA AND PRESIDENT POINCARÉ.
The Meeting on the Royal Yacht *Standart* in July 1914.
(Photo, Record Press.)

THE STORY OF FRANCE

1814-1914

BY

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LATE LADY KAY SCHOLAR OF JESUS

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WITH EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS

AND MAPS

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PREFACE.

OF all European history the history of France is, perhaps, the most brilliant. And since the inception of the Great Revolution that history partakes of the nature of epic. It reads rather like some wild, fantastic novel than the narrative of sober fact. Yet the period after the fall of Napoleon, full as it is of human—and even tragic—interest, has received very little attention from English writers. I therefore venture, in this day when England and France stand shoulder to shoulder and heart with heart in defence of the liberties of our own time and of all time, to offer a simple and consecutive account of the history of France during the tremendous century 1814–1914.

At no period could the history of France be called dull, and least of all in the nineteenth century. Look for a moment at the constitutional changes in the first three-quarters of the century. France was three times an Empire (1804–14, 1815, and 1852–70), twice a Constitutional Monarchy (1814 and 1815–30), once an Elective Monarchy (1830–48), and three times a Republic (previous to 1804, 1848–52, and after 1870). In all these changes England was intimately concerned, in war or peace. Louis-Philippe, Louis-Napoleon, and the statesmen of the twentieth century made friendship with England the keynote of their foreign policy. And it has been England's mournful

privilege to accord an asylum to every French monarch since Louis XVI. Louis XVIII. lived at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, Charles X. at Holyrood Palace, Louis-Philippe drew his latest breath at Claremont; while Napoleon I. died—an unwilling captive—on the rock of St. Helena, and his nephew, Napoleon III., an honoured guest at Chislehurst. Further than this, there still survives in our midst, forty-six years an exile, a noble lady whose personality links the First Empire to our own day across a hundred years of time—the Empress Eugénie, the wife of Napoleon III., and therefore the niece of Napoleon I. and the grand-daughter of Josephine.

So many have been the changes in the two centuries since the death of Louis XIV., that only two French monarchs have died in the occupancy of the throne (Louis XV. and Louis XVIII.), while only one has escaped imprisonment or exile—Louis XV. Nor have the chiefs of the Third Republic been much more fortunate. The first three presidents—Thiers, MacMahon, and Grévy—were forced into resignation, the fourth (Carnot) was assassinated, the fifth (Casimir-Périer) resigned in disgust, the sixth (Félix Faure) died suddenly; so that it was not until the Republic was thirty-six years old that a president was able quietly to lay down his office at the expiry of his full term—M. Loubet in 1906.

Animated by a trust in men rather than in measures, France has made constitutions to fit all sorts and conditions—an Empire for Napoleon I. and Napoleon III., a Constitutional Monarchy for the restored Bourbons, a Citizen Monarchy for the bourgeois Louis-Philippe, a Republic for Lamartine, Cavaignac, and Thiers, a Septennate for MacMahon. Each constitution has

lasted just as long as the success or popularity of the Chief of the State ; with his fall the constitution has gone with him. In point of fact, not one of these constitutions has exhibited a really stable equilibrium. The Third Republic is, indeed, within measurable distance of outlasting the united lengths of all these earlier *régimes* ; yet it, too, has been subjected to rude shocks, and more than once has trembled over the abyss. If, therefore, we sometimes seem to dwell upon the insecurity of the present *régime*, it must be remembered that the same dangers have threatened all previous constitutions, and that the perpetual insecurity seems rather to belong to the mercurial character of the nation than to the inherent faults of the Third Republic. What the future may bring forth no one knows, and it is a matter which concerns the French people alone ; but we need not necessarily assume that the French constitution has yet reached finality. The national genius tends towards the worship of glory, and especially of military glory, centred in a person. This was a powerful factor in the overwhelming popularity of the Napoleons in their successes, while it goes far to explain their eclipse after Waterloo and Sedan. Yet this much may safely be ventured upon, that neither the Duke of Orleans nor Prince Victor-Napoleon—the pretenders of to-day—has given the least indication of the possession of those personal gifts which would lead him to become a serious menace to the French Republic. Neither the green bill I saw posted in Paris during the General Election of 1914, denouncing the humiliations of recent Republican diplomacy, and ending “Vive Philippe VIII.,” nor the neat pink appeal of the leader of the Imperialists is of serious political importance.

Yet in all these bewildering transformations Europe must needs be grateful to France, which has had the courage to experiment with every kind of constitution ; and whilst she has been searching after her political destiny in blood and strife, other countries have looked on and profited by her travail and sacrifice.

Nor must we forget the part the French capital has played in all these astonishing changes. Paris is to us what Rome was to the ancients—the most historic and magnificent city in the world. Here have originated all the great French political changes. Here, in the gardens of the Palais Royal, Camille Desmoulins preached the Revolution ; there, on the steps of St. Roch, Napoleon suppressed the Royalists of the counter-Revolution. Beyond the Bois de Boulogne, across the Seine, he overthrew the Directory at St. Cloud. In that same palace Charles X. signed the famous *ordonnances*, lighting the powder beneath his own throne. Go and meditate in the place du Carrousel at even, and look westward toward the setting sun : there, in front of you, is the site of the fatal Tuileries, attacked by the mob in the Revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1870, by which attacks three dynasties were overturned, never to be restored, and are now all vanished like the gloomy pile that once gave shelter to their thrones. It is the same in every crisis. Revolutions in France are wrought not by France, but by Paris. It is here that the *rappel* is beaten, the drums sound, and the *Rouges* of Belleville and St. Antoine march westward into the city, bent on the overthrow of “tyrants.”

But it is not only that Paris is great in revolutions. The city is pre-eminently great in historic interest. Walk where you will, go where you may, everywhere

you are reminded of the supreme majesty and tragedy of the past of France and of her capital. Napoleon I. inaugurated those colossal undertakings which have made Paris a history book in stone, with the construction of the rue de Rivoli, the Vendôme column, and the lesser and greater Arcs de Triomphe. But it was reserved for his nephew, Napoleon III., to make the capital the first city of modern Europe. Under his personal initiative and supervision were constructed the incomparable boulevards, streets, avenues, and public buildings; and he it was who kindled the imaginations of Frenchmen by the bestowal of historic names upon her great highways and monuments. Thus the Paris of 1870 recalled Josephine, Hortense, Eugène, Jérôme, and the King of Rome, together with Friedland and Jéna and Wagram—to mention a few names at random; while the glories of the present were commemorated in the boulevards Sébastopol and Magenta, the avenue de Malakoff, the ponts d'Alma and de Solférino. To-day, in the revolution of time, most of the battle-names remain; but the personal names are wiped out. The avenue de l'Impératrice has become the avenue du Bois de Boulogne, the avenue Napoléon the avenue de l'Opéra. All that remains to recall the Second Empire is an occasional "N" monogram which has escaped the Republican chisel.

Love of change is a distinguishing characteristic of the French people. The old instability remains, though of late it has been confined to ministries rather than to dynasties and constitutions. So frequent and so violent have been the changes of the nineteenth century that the exigencies of the present have up till this very day prevented justice being done to the

actors of the past. And among the sufferers from this cause Napoleon III. stands out first and foremost. A dreamer and a fatalist he was. Yet, although he dreamed dreams for his country and for the world, he was also a great practical man of affairs. Now that he and his only son sleep their last sleep in the mausoleum at Farnborough, and his dynasty has receded into the true proportion of history and no longer menaces existing institutions, it is possible to estimate his character and his achievements more impartially. The time is approaching when France and all Europe will realize that his wideness of view, his patriotism, his indefatigable labours, his gentleness of character, his positive achievements, entitle Napoleon III. to the designation of "Great," and to the undying gratitude of his countrymen. The career of any man who rose from prison to President and from President to Emperor in less than six years would be sufficiently remarkable; but when that man in the same period raised his country from a position of dependence and servility to enjoy the hegemony of Europe, he was clearly cast in no ordinary mould. And this impression is deepened when we consider that he stood, half a century and more ago, alone in Europe as the representative of two great principles for which England, France, Russia, and Italy are fighting to-day—the protection of oppressed nationalities and the settlement of international questions by Conference rather than by Conquest. "Un homme d'État est comme une colonne; tant qu'elle est debout, personne ne peut mesurer sa grandeur; du moment qu'elle est en bas, chacun peut le faire."* So said Napoleon III. one day at the Tuileries. It is

* Beust: *Memoirs*.

his misfortune that since the overwhelming disasters of 1870 he has been measured lying down. But the true historian will remember that Napoleon III. lived as well in 1852 and 1859 as in 1870, and that if he lost Alsace-Lorraine he gained Nice and Savoy. The Third Republic ought by now to be strong enough to do justice to the great Frenchmen of all ages. Long ago the tomb of Napoleon I. was made the first place of pilgrimage in Paris ; is it really still too soon to commemorate Napoleon III. ?

Broad, then, is the canvas upon which the historian of modern France is called to paint. Never was such brilliance and such ruin ; such splendour and such tragedy. It is a history of peace and war, of revolutions and counter-revolutions, of progress and of reaction. It is a scene in which consuls, kings, emperors, marshals, cardinals, and presidents are jumbled together in inextricable confusion. The recital of it needs the learning of an Epiphanius and the language of a Newman. And I venture to hope that at no distant date a worthy history will appear ; no mere chronicle, but a work reflecting the brilliance and the pathos of post-Revolution France, written by one who has fallen under the spell of the ardent, eager, versatile, and brilliant Gallic race.

For my part, all I can hope to do is to draw attention, in simplest outline, to the history of an exceptional people during a period of exceptional interest. My book aims at being neither a political, nor an ecclesiastical, nor an industrial, nor a diplomatic, nor a literary, nor a social history. But as every tree must needs have some trunk to support it, so I have grouped my narrative round the changes of constitution France has undergone since 1814. All this time

France has been searching after a stable constitution, and I have endeavoured to delineate that search, sketching out the main outlines of constitutional development, and filling in the interstices with passages of human interest. Thus particularity is not to be looked for in the details of administration or legislation, but rather in the movements leading up to the Revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1870, together with the origins of the fatal Franco-Prussian War and of the Great War of 1914.

In an appendix a brief bibliography is given. A good deal of material is available in English, especially for the Second Empire. The real difficulty is to write history almost contemporaneously, and I am fully aware that the concluding portions of this work are more a chronicle than a history. That is, I think, inevitable. Biographies are not yet published, and confidential papers still repose in the secret cabinets of Ministers of State. I have spared the reader irritating footnotes wherever possible; and if, therefore, I have occasionally used language reminiscent of the writings of others without acknowledgment, I ask forgiveness. Especially I am indebted to Émile Ollivier's *L'Empire libéral*, and Hanotaux's *Contemporary France*; the writings of Mr. J. E. C. Bodley (in particular his articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, now published as a separate work); the Rev. F. A. Simpson's *Rise of Louis-Napoleon*; Lord Newton's *Life of Lord Lyons*; the articles and bibliography in the *Cambridge Modern History*; and Mr. Lawton's admirable study, entitled, *The Third French Republic*. To two friends I owe especial thanks—to Second Lieutenant Maurice Murray Watson for obtaining me a considerable amount of valuable information at a time

when my work chained me down at Bournemouth, and to Captain H. A. Jenner for helping me with the proofs.

With these words of introduction and explanation I yield my work to readers and to critics. Written at odd intervals—latterly against time—by the expenditure of much midnight oil, and often apart from libraries, the writing has brought me much pleasure. My studies have drawn me into communion with the spirits of great men and a great people. If this book deepens interest in France I shall be content; for I yield to no one in admiration of her genius and her services to mankind, and look hopefully across the blood-stained battlefields of to-day to a new France, lifted out of the stagnation of the past fifty years into her true position in the forefront of nations and of progress.

J. L. BEAUMONT JAMES.

RUE DE SEINE, PARIS,

August 7, 1916.

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THE STORY OF FRANCE

1814—1914.

I.

THE RESTORATION.

THE prince de Talleyrand was in the act of combing his hair on the morning of March 31, 1814, when a visitor was announced upon urgent business. This messenger proved to be Count Nesselrode, an old acquaintance, and at one time Councillor of the Russian Embassy in Paris. The two embraced so heartily that Nesselrode found himself covered with powder from head to foot. In such a way, and by such an agent, the Czar Alexander made known his impending entry into the French capital. And while Talleyrand and Nesselrode discussed the political situation, a message arrived from the Czar, stating that, as the Elysée Palace was understood to be mined, he was in need of a lodging. By this chance accident Talleyrand placed his house in the rue St. Florentin at the disposal of the imperial visitor, and, his offer being accepted, became Alexander's host.

That same day, after marching down the Champs-

Elysées at the head of his victorious army, in company with the King of Prussia and Prince von Schwarzenberg, the Czar took up his quarters at the hôtel de Talleyrand. Many and anxious were the discussions which occupied prince and emperor late into the night. Talleyrand but a few weeks before had taken final leave of Napoleon, and as he did so his master heaped upon him the bitterest of reproaches. "You are a coward," exclaimed Napoleon, "a traitor, and a thief. You do not even believe in God. You have betrayed and deceived every one. You would sell even your own father." Now was come Talleyrand's hour. He has explained to us in his *Memoirs* his change of attitude. "When Napoleon," he said, "casting aside every reasonable transaction, threw himself in 1812 into the fatal Russian expedition, any well-balanced mind could almost fix the date when, followed up by those Powers he had humiliated, and forced to cross the Rhine again, he would lose the prestige with which fortune had hitherto surrounded him. Napoleon vanquished was doomed to disappear from the world's stage; that is the destiny of vanquished usurpers." *

And what of Napoleon at this hour? His proud armies—which under the eagle had spread terror over all Europe; those armies which would march from the ocean to the Danube, and from the Seine to the Vistula at their master's bidding—were broken up. Before the combined attack of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, each army with its own sovereign at its head, Napoleon faced that Nemesis so long awaited by his enemies. At Fontainebleau on 30th March he found himself forced to face facts. The game was up, and

* *Memoirs* (E. T.), Vol. II., pp. 100, 101.

every one but himself knew it. A few days' despairing negotiations proved the hopelessness of his situation, and on 13th April the great emperor abdicated. For the sceptre of France he received instead the sovereignty of the isle of Elba, declining the alternatives of Corsica or Corfu.

Nominally the Empire ended when Napoleon placed his signature beneath the Treaty of Fontainebleau on 13th April; but actually he had already ceased to reign in Paris upon the entrance of the Allied forces on 31st March. When the occupation of the capital appeared inevitable, Napoleon's brothers—the erstwhile kings of Spain, Holland, and Westphalia—fled with Marie-Louise and the Government to Blois. Talleyrand contrived to remain behind, and the conduct of affairs naturally passed into his hands. As Grand Elector of the Empire he was able to summon the Senate into session at his will. Already, at the beginning of March, he had forecasted the turn of events, and dispatched the comte de Vitrolles, an imperial official Royalist at heart, to ascertain the mind of the Allied sovereigns as regards Napoleon. De Vitrolles, who left no stone unturned to secure an attitude favourable to the Bourbon princes, was to inquire whether, if Napoleon succumbed, the Allies would still treat with him, or whether they would allow France to choose her own government. In answer, Prince Metternich told him that, as Napoleon was a man with whom it was impossible to treat, it would be necessary for the Allies to establish a fresh sovereign on the French throne; but that it was “impossible to think of the Bourbons, because of the personal character of that family.” Czar Alexander went further, and declared that France

could have whatever form of government she selected—a republic if she pleased. Posted up with this information, the comte made his way to Nancy, and consulted with the comte d'Artois (23rd March); thence he returned to Paris as speedily as possible.

Various candidates for the vacant throne were considered by the persons interested. The Czar having bound himself never to enter into relations with Napoleon or his family, would never be able to acquiesce in a regency by Marie-Louise. The claims of Eugène de Beauharnais, Bernadotte (a thorn in Alexander's side while he occupied the throne of Sweden), and Murat were, therefore, equally inadmissible. On the other hand, the Royalists were actively engaged in a crusade on behalf of the comte de Provence, brother of Louis XVI. along with d'Artois, who had styled himself Louis XVIII. since the miserable death of the young son of Louis and Marie-Antoinette (June 8, 1795).

The comte d'Artois, realizing the critical condition of affairs, crossed the Swiss frontier, and established his residence at Nancy. His elder son, the duc d'Angoulême, who had married the unhappy daughter of Louis XVI., entered France from Spain early in January 1814, and proceeded to Wellington's headquarters at St. Juan de Luz, where he was favourably received by the military, but coolly by the civil population. On 27th February the battle of Orthez was fought, followed by the English occupation of Bordeaux. Acting, however, upon instructions from his government, which foreshadowed a peace with Napoleon, Wellington discouraged the prince's political pretensions, and strongly opposed the proposal of the people of Bordeaux to proclaim

Louis XVIII. (12th March). News of the events in Paris arrived just too late to prevent the battle of Toulouse, in which Soult was beaten on 10th April.

Such was the situation upon the memorable occasion when Talleyrand acted as host to Alexander I. It was not an easy situation with which the two had to deal. For just short of a quarter of a century a victorious France had carried on relentless war in Europe, first against all tyrants and then on behalf of one. How to rescue France from the vengeance of her enemies had long been a subject of meditation in the mind of Talleyrand. Everything, he has told us, pointed towards the restoration of the Bourbon family. "With the House of Bourbon France would cease to be gigantic, but would become great. Because it alone could avert that vengeance that twenty years of violence had heaped up against her." *

With this consummation in view the prince applied his exquisite diplomacy to the convincing of Alexander. Taking his stand upon the principle of legitimacy, Talleyrand pleaded for France's ancient kingly line. "Louis XVIII. is a principle; he is the *legitimate* king of France." "How," demanded the Czar, "can I find out that France desires the House of Bourbon?" "By a decision, Sire, that I shall take upon myself to have adopted by the Senate, and of which your Majesty will immediately see the effect." "You are sure of it?" "I will answer for it."

It was late before Talleyrand and Alexander ended this first conversation. The next day, in his capacity as Grand Elector, Prince Talleyrand summoned the Senators to meet—his last act under the authority of the Empire. Only sixty-eight attended out of a total

* *Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 117.

of 140. But these were sufficient to accomplish all the Elector's aims. Obediently they voted the establishment of a Provisional Government, consisting of Talleyrand as president, together with the duc de Dalberg, the comte de Jaucourt, the abbé de Montesquiou, and General Beurnonville. The following day they completed their work by voting the deposition of the Emperor Napoleon.

During these fateful days discussions continued at the hôtel de Talleyrand. The Austrian emperor was still at Dijon. The King of Prussia hardly occupied that pre-eminent position in Europe that in these latter times he has laid claim to. "Austria, Russia, and France," said Metternich, "should be on the Continent countries of equal power. Let Prussia remain a Power half as strong as any of the others." In this way it fell to the unbelieving ex-bishop and the Czar Alexander to deal with the situation. Both were irreconcilable foes of Napoleon: the one for the taunts and jeers heaped upon him by Bonaparte (not all unfounded); the other for Napoleon's unbounded presumption on the throne and in the field. Yet for all this, Alexander was a man of liberal views and wide sympathies. On 4th April Napoleon's final deputation was received in the rue St. Florentin. It was composed of Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt, the last-named acting as chief speaker. Eloquenty they pleaded for a regency under Marie-Louise. Consultations went on well into the night. Alexander promised a final decision in the morning. At dawn came news that Marshal Marmont had yielded to persuasions from Paris, deserted Napoleon, and led the remnant of his corps within the Allied lines, where they were quickly disarmed. This circum-

stance decided the Czar. From that moment Alexander and Talleyrand were in absolute accord. The envoys were promptly informed that the Allies would accept no terms less than the abdication of Napoleon and all his family.

Forthwith measures were taken to recall the exiled Bourbons. De Vitrolles was dispatched to Nancy, to bring back *Monsieur*, the comte d'Artois, to Paris. Another messenger went over to call the comte de Provence, the elder brother, to the throne of his illustrious ancestors, as Louis XVIII. The new king received the news prostrate with gout at his mansion of Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, where he had been established for some years. *Monsieur* arrived in the capital on the 12th of April, having been absent since July 18, 1789. Then, the first to emigrate, he had left Paris with the political clouds hanging blacker in the sky than ever man could remember. Now he returned in brilliant sunshine. Not a cloud was seen upon the political or celestial horizon. His handsome face and gracious manners, coupled with the recollection of the misfortunes of his family, brought him a reception in the capital as warm and enthusiastic as would have greeted the appearance of Henry IV. or Louis XIV. Amid the good will of the populace d'Artois, attired in the dress of the National Guard, drove through the Boulevards and put up at the Tuileries.

Meanwhile, on 6th April, under the inspiration of the Provisional Government—that is to say, of Talleyrand—the subservient Senate had outlined a scheme of constitutional government. The Bourbons were recalled, but recalled on “terms.” No one wanted the *ancien régime* again, and Talleyrand, with the

English constitution in mind, laid down certain broad principles of constitutional government the adoption of which he considered indispensable for the preservation of the liberties of his countrymen. The Senate, therefore, at the moment it summoned "Louis-Stanislas-Xavier of France" to ascend the throne, made the following conditions: Parliamentary government with two Chambers, responsible Ministry, liberty of the press, freedom of worship, and a political amnesty.

The comte d'Artois, who returned to France with no stomach for constitutional safeguards, betrayed some hesitation in face of these conditions. Until the king's arrival every one desired that, according to ancient precedent, he should assume the regency of the country, with the title of Lieutenant-General. But by whose authority? That of the Senate? That of the king who had not yet subscribed the conditions? Eventually *Monsieur* accepted office from the Senate, and in general terms expressed his brother's adhesion to their demands. In his capacity as Lieutenant-General he signed a preliminary convention of peace with the Allies. This agreement is headed: "Conventions between H.R.H. *Monsieur*, son of France, brother of the king, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of France, and each of the high Allied Powers—namely, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Signed at Paris, April 23, 1814, and ratified the same day by *Monsieur*." And it provides for a suspension of hostilities on land and sea immediately each French general acknowledges to the Allied troops opposite him his adhesion to the new government in Paris. The limits of France are to be those of January 1, 1792, by which she retains Avignon, Landau, Savoy, and Montbéliard, captured

in the early days of the Revolution. All blockades are to be raised and prisoners exchanged. The government of occupied departments or towns is to be handed over by the Allies to magistrates appointed by the new government. On 30th May a final definitive treaty of peace on these lines was concluded, the names of Talleyrand (prince de Bénévent), prince von Metternich, and count von Stadion being under-signed.

While the comte d'Artois was regulating affairs in Paris, Louis's attack of gout moderated, and he was able to leave England. He did not make a very dignified exit. The Prince Regent met him in town, and the somewhat effusive farewell they took of one another—these two elderly and portly gentlemen publicly embracing in the street—formed a ludicrous spectacle in the eyes of phlegmatic Londoners. On 24th April Louis XVIII. landed at Calais. Breaking his journey at the château de Compiègne, Talleyrand went hither to meet his new sovereign, Alexander being there as well. He was received with one of those tactful speeches which lifted Louis out of the commonplace. "I am exceedingly glad to see you," said the King. "Our houses date from the same epoch. My ancestors were the cleverest; if yours had been more so than mine, you would have said to me to-day, 'Take a chair—draw near—let us speak of our affairs;' to-day it is I who say it to you. Let us sit down and talk." *

On 2nd May the King arrived at St. Ouen, on the outskirts of Paris. Thither the Senate went to greet him. By a clever move Louis forestalled them in the matter of the Constitutional Charter. Here, in-

* Talleyrand's *Memoirs* (E. T.), Vol. II., p. 127.

stead of waiting for the conditions to be offered for his signature, he published a declaration—the “Declaration of St. Ouen”—announcing his intention of presenting a Charter of Liberties for the approval of the Senate forthwith. For this purpose the Senate were ordered to assemble on 10th June. The next day, 3rd May, Louis XVIII. made entry into his capital. The weather was fine, and he received a warm but not enthusiastic reception—nothing to be compared with that which had greeted his brother three weeks earlier. But towards evening, when men came home from work, a large crowd assembled in the place du Carrousel, and called repeatedly for the King and the duchesse d’Angoulême. So Louis and his niece—the one who had been two-and-twenty years an exile, the other for many months, amid every accompaniment of brutality, a prisoner in the Temple—appeared upon the balcony of the Tuileries, and showed themselves before the sons of that same mob that had insulted Louis XVI. in that same place on the terrible 10th of August. The remembrance of that awful day, the last day she was at the Tuileries, must have been in the mind of the duchesse as she looked down at the crowd before her. But all these horrible events were forgiven as the excesses of a past age. That day Louis and his family had made peace with France, and France with the House of Bourbon.

II.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

LOUIS XVIII. was born in the château de Versailles on November 17, 1755, so that he was already in his fifty-ninth year when he gained possession of his throne. His presence was hardly cast in a heroic mould. Fat, ungainly, and a victim to gout, he found it difficult to appear as the embodiment of regal majesty. At times, indeed, he was laid aside for weeks under the spell of gout, and he signed his own name at all times with difficulty. Yet if he was lacking in personal dignity, he possessed many gifts requisite for the office he was now, somewhat unexpectedly, called upon to fill. Not a little proud of his Latinity, he possessed that philosophic mind which engenders toleration. Well versed in the writings of Voltaire, not far removed from a sceptic himself, he was free from religious intolerance. In his earlier days an eager schemer in politics; ambitious, jealous, and calculating now, with his wide experience of the wheel of fortune, he returned to France destitute of political bias or personal animosity. Perhaps he was, as the Duke of Wellington once said of him, the best king for France at that time.

Not so *Monsieur*, the comte d'Artois. He, at least, came back to France having learned nothing

and forgotten nothing. The pleasant memory of the *ancien régime*, despite all its excesses and its cruelties, was ever in his mind. Handsome and dashing, d'Artois possessed all those graces of face and manner which gained sympathy for the aristocrats in their misfortunes. The very opposite of his brother, he had in his person the makings of a popular idol. Two years younger than Louis, he was a born reactionary; had been a confidant of Marie-Antoinette; and had been the first to abandon his country at the early thunderings of the Revolution (July 1789). Abroad he had been the acknowledged leader of the *émigrés*; had consorted with the enemies of France; and had taken part in the La Vendée expedition of 1795, where he proved himself not a little lacking in courage. Further, he possessed that strange quality which follows in the wake of so many French kings—the combination of a dismally low moral standard with extreme strictness in the outward observances of religion. What Louis XVIII. lacked in faith was supplied by the rigid devotion of his brother to the Roman Church. The comte's two sons, the duc d'Angoulême and the duc de Berri, were as reactionary as their father.

But whether or not the Bourbons came back changed, France, at any rate, had undergone changes more radical and far-reaching than in any other quarter century of her existence as a nation. The Revolution, and especially the Empire, had travailed for and brought forth a new France. No longer was the great bulk of the land in the hands of the clergy and nobles. Gone was the law of entail; gone were the ecclesiastical landlords; gone were the great baronial estates. The very geographical distinctions

of old time were abolished. Men spoke not now of the ancient provinces of Picardy and Touraine. Instead, France was divided into eighty-six departments of more or less equal acreage, named after rivers or other natural features. Nor did political institutions exhibit any greater permanence. The time-honoured Parlement and Bed of Justice were gone beyond recall. Instead, legal forms were regulated by that marvellous product of jurisprudence the *Code Napoléon*, in which the Emperor, great in peace as in war, had taken so keen an interest. The time-honoured relationship between Church and State had been replaced by the *Concordat* of 1801, under which ecclesiastics became paid functionaries of the State, whether they were Catholic or Protestant or Israelite. As to the army, it was recruited by conscription, and at the Restoration two-thirds of it were prisoners at the disposal of the Allies; while the remnant in France, devoted to Napoleon, crumbled away by desertion, so that they numbered less than 90,000 by the end of April 1814. The Legion of Honour ranked as the highest reward for political or military service.

With a different system of geography, of property, of nobility; with a different system of ecclesiastical, legal, political, and military administration, it was manifestly impossible to resuscitate the old order of things, had Louis desired it. Wisely he made no attempt to disturb those institutions elaborated under the Empire, unless they were already effete or inconsistent with his sovereignty. He left the *Concordat*, the *Code Napoléon*, as undisturbed as he did the *Arc de Triomphe*, the *rue de Rivoli*, or the *Vendôme* column. He contented himself instead with such mild vengeance as the substitution of the white flag

of his ancestors for the revolutionary tricolour, and the ignoring of the fact that the Republic or Empire had ever existed at all.

A new Court, however, modelled in every way upon the Court of Louis XVI., was set up. Talleyrand's nephew, the archbishop of Reims, became Grand Almoner, the abbé Rocher the royal Confessor, and in their train came eighteen other ecclesiastics. After these came in great profusion a Master of the Horse, Commandant of the Swiss Guard, Cup-bearer, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Captains of the Bodyguard, and so forth. A separate establishment was formed for *Monsieur* on the same lines. In this way a large number of the *émigrés*, by whom the sovereign was in danger of being snowed under, received recognition and were satisfied.

On 13th May a ministry was formed, and the comte d'Artois laid down his office as Lieutenant-General of the Realm. M. Dambray, the nephew of Louis XVI.'s last chancellor, became Chancellor of France. Talleyrand selected the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, as best suited to his abilities. In the wake of these came baron Louis, an ex-priest, as Minister of Finance, Malouet as Minister of Marine, Beugnot as Minister of Police. General Dupont took charge of the War Office, M. Ferrand of the Post Office, while the abbé de Montesquiou assumed the Ministry of the Interior. Finally, the King's faithful fellow-exile and secretary, M. le comte de Blacas, was given a seat in the Council, with the title of Minister of the Household.

Political chaos was now well on the way to being resolved into order. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 30th May the King made his appearance in

the Palais Bourbon on 4th June, amid all the accompaniments of regal majesty, and delivered an allocution to an assembly composed of the *corps législatif*, with the ex-senators as onlookers. His Majesty expressed his pleasure at the conclusion of peace, at the favourable outlook for the country, and ended by declaring his intention to govern in the spirit Louis XVI. had expressed in his will. Upon the King taking his seat, M. Dambray, as Chancellor, rose and introduced the Constitutional Charter promised in the Declaration of St. Ouen. This had been composed by a royal commission made up of himself, of the abbé de Montesquiou, M. Ferrand, M. Beugnot, and sixteen other senators and deputies. "The breath of God," said Dambray, "has overthrown the formidable colossus of power that was a burden to the whole of Europe; but under the ruins of that gigantic structure France has at least discovered the immovable foundations of her ancient monarchy. The King, being in full possession of his hereditary rights over this noble kingdom, will only exercise the authority he holds from God and his fathers within the limits that he himself has set." This reactionary oration concluded, M. Ferrand rose and read the official text of the Charter, and finally a list of one hundred and fifty-four new peers nominated to the Upper House.

The Charter, which was to play so important a part in French history for the next sixteen years, was received on all sides with hearty good will. It is true that a few ultra-royalists wished it had never been born at all, and that a few Liberals felt misgivings about a document dated "in the nineteenth year of our reign," and superscribed with the ancient

preface, "*Nous accordons, nous faisons concession et octroi.*" But these feelings were isolated in the general fervour of popular delight. Drawn up as it was under the inspiration of Talleyrand's original instructions to the Senate by ex-officials of the Empire, the Charter represented the high-water mark of the Liberalism of the day.

The first article laid down the principle that "all Frenchmen are equal before the law, whatever be their title or rank." The three or four million property holders who had bought "national lands" were confirmed in their titles. Liberty of the press (with safeguards) and freedom of worship were guaranteed, while the Catholic religion was declared to be the religion of France. Representative parliamentary government after the English fashion was set up. There were to be two Chambers—an Upper House of Peers, nominated by the King and either hereditary or for life, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by popular vote. This Lower House alone could initiate money bills, and one-fifth of its members retired each year. Each session of Parliament, as in England, was to be opened with a speech from the throne, and the initiation of legislation was reserved to the sovereign. The qualification of electors was fixed at the payment of three hundred francs a year in direct taxation.

As a further token of the sincerity of his intentions, Louis XVIII. retained in office the judges and prefects of the Empire, thus securing continuity of policy both in legal and departmental administration. Moreover, marshals of France who had fought under the eagle in a hundred fights were called in to advise the King in military affairs. And the

Legion of Honour was not only retained, but received so plentiful an addition of members that the sovereign was not a little suspected of casting ridicule upon it.

But all was not plain sailing. Louis and his brother were mutually suspicious; and d'Artois, who had established himself in the pavillon de Marsan at the Tuileries, was the centre of a frankly reactionary policy. Foolish mistakes, too, were made by the Government. Thus, on 7th June, Beugnot, the Minister of Police, a confidant of *Monsieur*, issued an ordinance forbidding any one to engage in trade or business for profit on Sundays or fast days; and requiring Parisians, in addition, to decorate their houses in honour of the Corpus Christi processions. A month later a bill modifying the liberty of the press, the work of Montesquiou, was made the object of popular indignation, and only passed the Chambers in a modified form. And not a little dissatisfaction was caused in the army by an ordinance of the King's re-establishing the Household Guard, while the Old Guard was removed from the sovereign's presence and its officers placed on half-pay. Further, the army was reduced from 600,000 to 200,000.

In September there assembled at Vienna a Congress of European Powers, foreshadowed in a secret article of the Treaty of Paris which placed at the disposal of the Allies all the conquered territories beyond the boundaries of reconstituted France. Hither, then, Talleyrand proceeded, leaving the direction of foreign affairs in Paris to the comte de Jaucourt. "I regarded it," he wrote in his *Memoirs*, "as a duty to claim the post." He left Paris on

16th September, and arrived at Vienna on the 24th, having in his train the duc de Dalberg, comte Alexis de Noailles, the marquis de la Tour du Pin-Gouvernet, together with his niece, the comtesse de Périgord, to act as hostess at his entertainments. He found full scope for his matchless diplomatic skill instantly. Two days before his arrival, 22nd September, the four Allied Powers—that is, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—had decided to do all the portioning themselves, afterwards communicating their views to the representatives of France and Spain, and leaving the smaller kingdoms out in the cold altogether. Not only this, but the personal eminence and prowess of the plenipotentiaries opposed to him were notable indeed. Prince Metternich acted as president of the Congress, assisted by Friedrich von Gentz as general secretary. The Russian representatives were Capo d'Istria, Nesselrode, Stein, General Pozzo di Borgo, while Alexander II. was himself on the spot. Prussia contributed prince von Hardenberg and baron von Humboldt, and England was represented by Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary (afterwards replaced by the Duke of Wellington), with his satellites Clancarty, Cathcart, and Stewart. Oppressed Poland was championed by Prince Adam-Casimir Czartoryski.

Talleyrand instantly divined how the wind blew. The very day after his arrival he wrote a diagnosis of the situation to his master. "I see, Sire," he wrote, "that the language of reason and moderation will not be employed by all the plenipotentiaries. One of the ministers of Russia said a few days ago: 'They wanted to make an Asiatic Power of us. Poland will make us European.' Prussia, on

her part, asks nothing better than to exchange her former Polish provinces for those she covets in Germany and on the banks of the Rhine. These two Powers should be considered as intimately united on that point." By rallying the representatives of the smaller Powers round him, Talleyrand, the ambassador of a beaten France, strengthened his position and influence in the Congress, though he did not succeed in gaining entrance into the sacred committee of four. This did not greatly matter, for, as he had foreseen, Alexander resolutely demanded Poland in its entirety, and Prussia, who coveted Saxony, was solid in his support; in consequence a split arose among the Allies. A secret defensive treaty was concluded on 3rd January between Great Britain, Austria, and France, and it looked as if nothing but the sword could resolve the differences of the Congress. But a fair wind sprung up, so that by the end of January all difficulties were at an end. Austria and Prussia retained portions of Poland, the Czar receiving the lion's share; while Prussia had to content herself with a portion only of Saxony. Talleyrand's skilful manœuvring had won for him the position of an equal at last. In the final conferences on the Polish question he was admitted to the deliberations.

On the evening of 1st February the Duke of Wellington, just from the British Embassy in Paris, arrived at Vienna. Alexander went to see him at ten o'clock the next morning. "Everything," inquired he, "is going wrong in France, is it not?" "By no means," replied the Duke: "the King is greatly beloved and respected, and behaves with exemplary prudence." "And how about the army?"

asked Alexander. "As far as offensive warfare goes, no matter against what Power," Wellington answered, "the army is as good as it ever was; but in questions of home policy it is worth nothing." This conversation (overheard by Czartoryski) Talleyrand duly reported to Louis XVIII., with the comment that "as . . . the army is not yet quite sound, it will be necessary to avoid raising questions in which it may have to play a part." But indeed recent events in Paris had given much cause for alarm. The spirit of resentment which had prompted the Old Guard, when ordered to deliver up their eagles to the duc de Berri, to burn them and swallow the ashes, had now become widespread in the army. Thousands of imperial officers, compulsorily placed on half-pay, saw with indignation high military rank conferred upon Court favourites. All over France ragged veterans, disbanded from the colours, spread the unpopularity of the new order of affairs. The men still on service were without pay or uniforms. No wonder the army, active or reserve, was dissatisfied.

Concerning religion, great scandal had been caused by the refusal of the clergy of St. Roch to bury Mlle. Raucourt, a popular actress. All over France 21st January had been observed by authority as the funeral day of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, whose bones were that day, with all funeral pomp, translated from the common fosse in the cemetery of the Madeleine to their final resting-place in the royal vaults of St. Denis.

As to politics, things that had promised so well at the birth of the Charter were rapidly going from bad to worse. There was no Prime Minister; but

through the mediation of the comte de Blacas ministers waited on the King in turn. Louis had no power of decision, hated arriving at a conclusion, and had no aptitude for hard work. Under these dismal circumstances—"There are ministers," said Wellington, "but no ministry"—affairs of State jogged on. The Government seemed unable to look ahead, to attempt that reorganization of French industry so vitally necessary, but were content merely to exist. Despite the excellence of Baron Louis's financial proposals (he had to provide for an expenditure of 547,700,000 francs, and to meet arrears of debts of 789,175,000 francs), the Budget weighed heavily upon a nation financially exhausted. A just proposal to return to the *émigrés* that portion of "national lands" still in the possession of the Government was made obnoxious in the Chamber by the ill-timed eulogies passed upon these unfortunates by the introducer of the Bill, Ferrand, Postmaster-General. Troubles in the War Office involved the dismissal of Dupont and the installation of Marshal Soult, a brave and capable soldier, but as a politician ambitious, overbearing, treacherous, and a sycophant. He was already unpopular through his efforts to raise funds in honour of the victims of Quiberon, by which he had gained the favour of the duchesse d'Angoulême. Neither did he improve his position by the violence of his behaviour towards General Excelmans, who was tried at Lille for writing a letter of congratulation to Murat, the King of Naples, when he was confirmed in his kingdom by the Congress of Vienna. Amidst wild enthusiasm the general was acquitted by the court-martial (January 25, 1815). By this time, too, the Ministry of 13th May had hardly a single office

held by the original bearer. Talleyrand was at Vienna, Dupont was dismissed, Malouet was dead; Beugnot succeeded him, and he in his turn was succeeded at the Ministry of Police by d'André.

Suddenly, on Sunday, 5th March, transmitted from station to station by telegraph, came the astounding news that Napoleon was once more in France. For the moment no one realized the danger, either at Paris or Vienna. Talleyrand wrote to the King: "This incident of Bonaparte's appearance in France, in other respects so disagreeable, will at least have this advantage, that it will hasten the conclusion of matters here" (Vienna, 12th March). Nevertheless the Powers assembled at the Congress—Austria, Spain, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden—immediately bound themselves by a solemn declaration to overthrow Napoleon:—"Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself beyond the pale of civil and social relations, and, as the enemy and disturber of the world's peace, he has delivered himself up to public justice."

At 6 a.m. on 6th March *Monsieur* started for Lyons to organize an army of resistance. He was followed next day by the duc d'Orléans. But the task proved hopeless. One battalion after another abandoned the King, and returned obediently to heel at the call of its old master. Grenoble opened its gates, Chambéry gave its garrison. When the news of these defections came in, d'Artois, realizing that resistance was useless, returned to the capital. On the 10th Napoleon entered Lyons. In the south and west the duc d'Angoulême, his wife, and the aged duc de Bourbon attempted resistance. Within a month d'Angoulême was forced to capitulate, the duchesse

was on her way to England, and the duc de Bourbon in flight by lonely by-roads to the Loire, whence he sailed for Spain.

In dire extremity the King summoned Ney from his command in Normandy, and dispatched him against Napoleon. Soult was forced to resign the Ministry of War; and on March 16th Louis visited the Palais Bourbon, and addressed the Chambers with all due pomp. "I have worked for the happiness of my people," he declared. "I have received, I am every day receiving, the most touching signs of their love. How could I at sixty years of age end my career better than by dying in their defence? I have no fears for myself, then; but I have fears for France. The man who has come among us to light the torch of civil war brings with him, too, the scourge of foreign war." No one was more felicitous in his choice of words than Louis XVIII., no one less inclined to act promptly. Days slipped by. Multitudinous were the gifts of good advice. One was for a new war in La Vendée, another favoured the placing of the Tuileries and Louvre in a state of defence calculated to sustain a siege of two months; while de Blacas was content with the suggestion that on the approach of Napoleon the King should drive out in an open carriage, supported by the peers and deputies on horseback, and overawe the tyrant into an abashed surrender. On the 17th came the news of Ney's desertion.

During all this uncertainty at the Tuileries, however, the King's portmanteaus were packed; and finally, at midnight on Sunday, 19th March, just a fortnight after the news had come through, Louis XVIII. descended the steps of the pavillon de Flore

and abandoned his capital. All through that night, a night of rain and storm, the royal coach rumbled along the Lille road. Abbeville was reached at 5 p.m. on the 20th, and there Louis halted for the night. Here also he awaited the arrival of his body-guard of household troops, marching hard after him in the mud and storm. But time pressed. Macdonald urged that his enemies might cut the road to Lille, where the garrison was believed to be loyal. Taking to the road again on the 21st, the King was in Lille by 1 p.m. on the 22nd. That day arrived a copy of the Declaration of Vienna of 13th March, and its stern resolves were posted up all over the town; but all to no purpose. At 3 p.m. the next day (23rd March) the royal fugitive was on the move towards Dunkirk, in dread of being taken captive, since it was known that Napoleon was already in Paris. But proceeding by way of Belgium, once he was over the frontier at Ménin, the King turned towards Brussels instead. Resting a few days in that city, but refused the château de Laeken as a residence, he decided to take up his quarters in Ghent, where he arrived March 30, 1815, for the second time an exile. Here he was hospitably received by the whole town, and lodged at the hôtel d'Hane, in the rue des Champs, the residence of the noble family of d'Hane de Steenhuyse.

Far away at Paris Napoleon was once more established at the Tuileries, and the *Nain Jaune* was heaping ridicule upon the unfortunate King. "Two days before the departure of the Bourbon family from Paris," it wrote, "this notice was posted on the door of the Tuileries: 'The Emperor begs the King not to send him any more soldiers. He has enough.'"

III.

THE SECOND RESTORATION.

UPON his return to France Napoleon landed on the shores of the Golfe-Jouan, midway between Cannes and Antibes (March 1, 1815). That journey thence to Paris is a feat unparalleled in history. At the head of hardly more than a thousand men, his march was one great triumphal progress. Without a gun being fired or a man being killed, he, Bonaparte, the enemy of every nation in Europe, and an exile from his own land, regained in less than three weeks the sovereignty of France. Moving with his accustomed rapidity, Napoleon was at Lyons on the 10th, where he issued a proclamation annulling all the acts of the Government since the Treaty of Fontainebleau. A week later he was at Auxerre, and by 20th March once again at Fontainebleau. That day, at 2 p.m., the tricolour had been hoisted upon the flagstaff of the Tuileries, and the same evening at 9 p.m. the Emperor arrived. "Mon cher," he exclaimed, in reply to Mollien's welcome, "they have let me come, just as they let the others go." He was not unmindful of his difficulties.

With the return of the Emperor there flocked to his standard thousands of ex-officials of the Empire. In the secret cabinets of the Tuileries were found

letters of which the ink was hardly dry, protesting the unshakable loyalty of the writers to Louis XVIII. Now these same men unblushingly yielded obedience to Napoleon, and solicited favours at his hands. A draft also was discovered of the secret treaty of 3rd January so skilfully engineered by Talleyrand; this Napoleon forwarded, through the agency of the Russian embassy, to the Czar, that he might learn of the hostile machinations of Austria and Great Britain. Alexander, upon receipt of this intelligence, sent for Metternich. "Do you know this?" he demanded, producing the document. Enjoying the Minister's confusion, he proceeded: "Let us forget all this; the point is now to overthrow our common enemy, and this document, which *he* himself sent me, proves how dangerous and clever *he* is." With these generous words the Czar threw the paper into the fire, straitly charging Metternich not to let Talleyrand hear of the matter (April 1814).

The Congress was indeed Napoleon's relentless enemy. When, at the beginning of May, he wrote to the Emperor Francis of Austria concerning Marie-Louise, adopting a polite but injured tone, his letter was read in Congress and completely disregarded. A letter to the Prince Regent was returned from England unopened.

But if the Allied Powers were united for the overthrow of Napoleon, it was by no means certain as yet that they were prepared to re-establish Louis XVIII. Alexander expressed his doubts in a conversation with Lord Clancarty, since the departure of Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington the head of the English embassy, duly reported to his master by Talleyrand (April 23rd). "I hold that the re-

establishment of the King," said the Czar, "which we all desire, and which I particularly wish, is likely to meet with so many insurmountable obstacles when it does take place, that we ought to look ahead and arrange in advance what will then have to be done. Last year a regency might have been established . . . it is no use thinking any more about that. I see no one so fitted to conciliate all parties as the duc d'Orléans. He is a Frenchman, a Bourbon; he has married a Bourbon, and he has sons. He also when young served the constitutional cause. He has worn the tricolour cockade, which I often maintained, when in Paris, ought never to have been discarded. In him all parties would be united. Do you not agree with me in this, my lord, and what would be the position of England about it?" "I cannot possibly say," answered Clancarty, "what would be the opinion of my Government on an idea which would be as new to them as it is to me. As for my personal opinion, I do not hesitate to say that it seems to me extremely dangerous to abandon the legitimate line and rush into any kind of usurpation." Cold comfort all these discussions for the gouty exile maintaining all the semblance of regal magnificence at Ghent. There, with ambassadors accredited to him by the Powers, under the protection of the remnant of his household troops, Louis XVIII. whiled away the time; and, even when money began to fail, kept up a cheerful demeanour. At last, after nine weary months of argument, the Congress of Vienna brought its labours to an end by the signature of a solemn Act setting forth its decisions (June 9, 1815). On the following day Talleyrand posted off to Ghent, "to lay at your Majesty's feet

my most respectful homage and devotion." On his arrival at Brussels he learnt of a very important event.

After Napoleon's return it was a matter of no great difficulty to get the old imperial machinery to work again. Except in her legislature, France was much the same as at the first abdication. Even the same prefects were in office (for the most part) in the provinces. All that the Emperor needed was time, and that was just what he had not got. At Naples his brother-in-law, Murat, had already moved out of his borders on his own initiative; but was defeated at Tolentino (3rd May), and obliged to flee his kingdom. An insurrection in La Vendée kept 20,000 of the imperial troops constantly at work. By the beginning of June Napoleon had only succeeded in gathering together some 125,000 men for a campaign on the north-east frontier. All the while the troops of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, all of whom had bound themselves (17th March) to provide and maintain 150,000 in the field, were on the move from every corner of Europe. For the Emperor to have the slightest chance it was essential to strike before these armies united. The nearest and the weakest of them was that of the Duke of Wellington, composed of some 30,000 British troops, supplemented by Hanoverians, Belgians, and Dutch—in all about 105,000 men.

On 1st May was held in Paris the great festival of the *Champ de Mai*, in which Napoleon announced the new Liberal constitution to be granted to the country. That day all the glories of the past were mirrored in the great military pageantry; but as a political move the assembly was a failure. Not even

Napoleon's solemn oath of obedience to the constitution with the new *Acte Additionnel* evoked more than a momentary benediction. The shadows in the sky were too black, and the memories of the past too clear.

At dawn on 12th June the Emperor started for the front. That afternoon he drove into the noble citadel of Laon. Two days later he was in the midst of his army at Beaumont, with his left wing resting on Valenciennes, his right wing on Thionville. On the 16th, dividing his army into two parts, he ordered Ney to attack the British left at Quatre Bras, while he threw himself on Blücher's army of 90,000 Prussians centred on Ligny. Neither of the engagements was decisive, though things might have gone ill for the Allies had d'Erlon's corps, wandering from Ney to Napoleon, and from Napoleon to Ney, rendered more effective assistance. As it was, Quatre Bras favoured Wellington, while Napoleon won a distinct victory, though not a great one, at Ligny. Blücher with his men fell back upon Wavre in good order. So far the imperial plan of driving a wedge between the two armies, so as to crush in turn the one and then the other, had not miscarried. But on the 17th Napoleon exhibited an unaccountable lethargy. It was well into the afternoon before Grouchy, ordered to pursue Blücher with some 33,000 men, got under way. In the meantime Wellington had withdrawn his left wing from Quatre Bras, and concentrated his entire available forces at Mont St. Jean. That evening the French got into touch with his cavalry. Wellington's army here numbered about 67,000, of which he could only definitely rely upon some 25,000 British and Hanoverians. Opposed to

him Napoleon counted about 74,000, while he possessed an overwhelming superiority in artillery—246 guns as against 156.

The details of the battle of Waterloo—Wellington dated his dispatch from the village of Waterloo—fought on Sunday, the 18th of June, belong rather to the history of Napoleon than to that of the Restoration. Suffice it to say that at sunset on that memorable day the great Emperor was a beaten man. Just as the battle was over the Prussian cavalry arrived, and Napoleon, abandoning his army, took to flight. Passing by Quatre Bras and Charleroi, the next day he was at Philippeville, hurrying on towards Paris, lamenting his piece of "ill-fortune," and planning eagerly his campaign of revenge. On Midsummer Day he drove into the gates of the Elysée. But he returned to face the reproaches of a disillusioned people. The Chamber of Deputies did not conceal their hostility. His Ministers themselves—Lucien, Carnot, Mollien, Gaudin, Grenier, Davoust, and the rest—held out no hope. Lafayette induced the deputies to declare themselves in permanent session. The National Guard were called out to defend their persons. And all this on the very day of the Emperor's homecoming.

His mind alternating between hope and despair, one moment Napoleon hurled defiance at his enemies, the next he contemplated a second abdication. So the night, the shortest night in all the year, drew on. By next morning he had made up his mind to abdicate.

His decision was only just in time. The deputies indicated that the choice for him was merely between abdication or deposition. Five of their number—



NAPOLEON AT THE GANGWAY OF THE "BELLEROPHON"
IN PLYMOUTH SOUND.

(After the painting by Sir C. Eastlake.)

Grenier, Caulaincourt, Quinette, Carnot, and Fouché —were appointed as chiefs of the provisional government, Fouché becoming President. Napoleon, therefore, abdicated on June 22, 1815, for the second time. But his cup of humiliation was not complete until Fouché, a regicide, a traitor, and a cad, sent him word to be gone. Accordingly, with wearied brain and cheeks smarting with indignation, the great Emperor, one week to the day after Waterloo, drove off along the Champs-Élysées, past the yet uncompleted Arc de Triomphe, to La Malmaison. Here he was under the spell of the spirit of Josephine, dead just a year ago, and buried with the greatest possible honours, attended to the grave by the representatives of the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. At this sad home, so consonant with his mood, the ex-Emperor drew breath. But only for a day. Then Fouché's hounds were in full cry after him. The Prussian hordes, too, were within hail of the capital. On the 29th Napoleon, after an offer to serve France as General Bonaparte was declined, took carriage for Rochefort towards six in the evening. Arrived here, on the 3rd of July, he made a final offer of his services to France, and received a final refusal. After five days' hesitation he embarked upon the French frigate *Saale*, then lying in the harbour; and on the 9th of July was ordered by the Government to set sail for America within twenty-four hours. A further stage was reached on 10th July, when Napoleon entered into correspondence with Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, who was on guard awaiting him the moment he left harbour. Finding escape hopeless, the fugitive, in a dramatic manner, threw himself upon the mercy of England. "I come," he wrote

to the Prince Regent, "like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

At daybreak on 15th July, just as the sun shone through the mists of the early morning sea, Napoleon, the mightiest character European history has known, yielded up himself unconditionally to Captain Maitland, and became the prisoner of England on H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. From Rochefort they sailed to England. Here, at Torbay and Plymouth, Napoleon waited anxiously the decision of the Government. First he heard that his emissary to the Prince Regent, Gourgaud, had been refused a landing. But he hoped on. Regarding himself not as a prisoner but a guest, his desires were centred on gaining permission to start life afresh on the American continent. On the last day of July his fate was made known. The Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir Henry Bunbury, accompanied by the Port Admiral (Lord Keith), broke to him the heavy tidings that he was destined to perpetual exile upon the rocky island of St. Helena. All his desperate protests fell upon deaf ears. On 4th August the *Bellerophon* weighed anchor, on the 7th Napoleon was transhipped to the *Northumberland*, which forthwith set sail southwards for St. Helena; and with that sailing the Emperor disappeared from the stage of history.

It is necessary to return to Louis XVIII. He had survived the Orleanist danger, and still kept court at Ghent. There, in the hotel d'Hane, as Napoleon's advance became known, he held himself ready to

move at any moment. Chateaubriand, who had followed him into exile, was on a country walk near Ghent on the fateful 18th of June, reading *Cæsar* as he wandered along. From time to time was borne to him the thunder of distant guns; yet when he stopped to listen, he could distinguish nothing save the cry of a waterfowl among the rushes and the striking of a village clock. In such wise did he hear the distant sounds of a battle which shook all Europe. Later on that day the comte d'Artois came from Brussels with the report that Wellington was vanquished; and in the evening there arrived the comte de Vincent straight from the battle, his hand all bleeding, to announce that when he left all was lost. Indeed, not till well into the next day did the news of Napoleon's rout and flight come to hand. Louis received the intelligence with the same calm dignity that he had maintained throughout this desperate turn in his fortunes.

Talleyrand, on his part, was hastening forward from Vienna at express speed. Arrived at Brussels, he received tidings of Waterloo. Hearing, too, that the court at Ghent was broken up and Louis XVIII. had moved towards France in the wake of the English army, he made all haste to follow. At Mons he came up with the King, but did not approach him until early the next morning. The royal coach was actually on the move when Talleyrand appeared. The interview was scarcely a pleasant one. Talleyrand besought the monarch not to become part of the baggage of Wellington's army, and never to re-enter France as the dependant of a conquering host. But Louis, relying absolutely upon Wellington, was not open to persuasion. The carriage drove on, and

Talleyrand stayed behind in sorrow and in mortification. At Château-Cambrésis Louis XVIII. was once more in France (25th June, the very day of Napoleon's final departure from Paris). Here, with the assistance of Chancellor Dambray, he published a manifesto to his people, declaring that he had come to resume his rights, and nailing his colours to the Constitutional Charter. But immense harm was done by a blundering reference to the approaching punishment of those who had returned to the allegiance of Napoleon. Now, after ruminating for four-and-twenty hours at Mons, Talleyrand was again following up the King, over-persuaded by Chateaubriand and others. He caught up Louis at Cambray on the 27th, and induced him to issue a revised proclamation, calculated to allay the unrest stirred up at Château-Cambrésis (28th June). After allusion to the joy of his return and his faithfulness to the Charter, the King proceeded to soften down the earlier asperities. "I only intend to exclude from my presence those men whose reputation is a source of grief to France and of terror to the rest of Europe. In the conspiracy hatched by these men I see many of my subjects who have been misled, and a few who are culpable. I, who as all Europe knows never promised anything without fulfilling it, now promise, as regards those Frenchmen who have been misled, to pardon everything that has taken place from the day when I left Lille, in the midst of so many tears, up to the time when I entered Cambray amid so many rejoicings."

So far Talleyrand had succeeded ; but in his main endeavour—the endeavour to separate Louis from the English army and preserve his royal independ-

ence—he failed. He also, therefore, followed the English army in the advance on Paris, while hard by was Blücher's host spreading devastation right and left. The remnant of Napoleon's force, and that of Grouchy, fell back from Laon to Paris, in face of the overwhelming superiority of the Allies. In the capital, Fouché, at the head of the Government, had veered round again towards the restoration of Louis XVIII. The provinces were receiving him with favour; the Allies were united on his behalf. Pamphlets in favour of the King found a ready sale in Paris itself. "To refuse to acknowledge Louis XVIII.," wrote M. Malleville, deputy for the Dordogne, "and to call some other prince to the throne, would be an action likely to result in serious inconvenience. The Allied Powers recognize the independence of the French nation, but their desires are centred in Louis XVIII. In their eyes Louis XVIII. is still king." On 27th June the Government appointed commissioners to treat with the Allies in the hope of gaining an armistice. These met Blücher at Noyon on the 28th, and Wellington at Estrées St. Denis, ten miles north-west of Compiègne, the following day. Wellington advised them to recall the King without conditions, and fortunately, in the midst of their conversation, there arrived the proclamation of Cambray, signed by Louis and Talleyrand. A good impression was produced upon the meeting, and the commissioners returned to Paris inclined towards the restoration. On Wellington's advice, Louis moved forward to Roye. Hither came an emissary of Fouché, M. Gaillard. That master of intrigue now set himself to work upon the King's fears. "Sire," he wrote, "you are

too wise to await events before making concessions. Concessions made now will reconcile different parties, tend towards peace, and strengthen the authority of the Crown. Concessions made later on would only prove its weakness. They would be wrung from you.”

The next stage in the King's journey was the château d'Arnouville, where all the Royalist partisans assembled in his train. D'Artois was there. The duc de Berri was there. De Vitrolles, who had been liberated from the gaol Napoleon flung him into, was there. Chateaubriand was there. Wellington was hard by at Gonesse. And at last came Fouché, to renew his former oath of allegiance. He had played that *rôle* in the second Restoration which Talleyrand played in the first. The two met again at Arnouville. “How I should love to hear what those lambs are saying!” exclaimed Pozzo di Borgo, as he watched them go off together.

Blücher's army was the first to descend upon the capital. It reached Argenteuil on the 29th of June, and the cavalry rapidly moved along the Seine in the direction of St. Cloud, where the marshal established himself. The deputies were in two minds what to do. A commission visited the outposts at La Villette on the 30th, and reported favourably on the chances of a successful resistance, and for this purpose some 70,000 regular troops were available. But Fouché, who had been in secret communication with Blücher and Wellington, just as during the Hundred Days he had intrigued with Vienna and Ghent behind Napoleon's back, was convinced resistance could achieve no useful purpose. As head of the Government he procrastinated until at last came Blücher's summons to surrender. The old Prussian

demanded the most exacting conditions. Paris must be treated as a conquered city. Everything must be surrendered unconditionally. Eventually, at the instigation of Wellington, Paris was allowed to capitulate on condition that the army was marched beyond the Loire; the Allies on their part promising not to take measures against any Frenchman who had assisted Napoleon during the Hundred Days. To Fouché's appeal for the retention of the tricolour Wellington returned an unhesitating negative.

On 7th July the Allied hosts swept down triumphantly into Paris, and for the second time in little more than a year piled arms in the place de la Concorde. Next morning the *Moniteur* announced that the re-entry of Louis XVIII. would take place at 3 p.m. that day. Having slept at St. Denis, the old King drove into his capital by way of the barrière St. Denis, where the restored Prefect of the Seine, M. de Chabrol, accorded an official welcome. Moving thence along the rue faubourg St. Denis at the head of an immense cavalcade, the King passed along the boulevards to the place Vendôme; and finally, at 6 p.m. on 8th July, King Louis XVIII., attended by no less than six marshals of the Empire, alighted at the Tuileries, and his exile was ended.

On the whole, his people were glad to see the old man again. He was a symbol of peace within France and without. And, besides, his advent would bring to an end the enemy's occupation of Paris. It was an intolerable humiliation for the capital of France to be subject to the rule of a Prussian governor (Baron von Muffling), and to have the troops of Prussia on guard at every street corner and billeted on every household. Complaints, too, were rife of the brutal

conduct of the Prussian hordes. Louis himself was horrified at the behaviour of Blücher, who was determined to avenge the memory of Jéna. Here is a letter of the King, slowly and painfully written with his own hand, to Talleyrand. "I have just been informed," it runs, "that the Prussians have undermined the bridge of Jéna, and that they will probably blow it up to-night. The duc d'Otrante (Fouché) carries instructions to General Maison to prevent this by every means in his power. But, as you know, he has none at all. So do all you possibly can by means of the Duke (of Wellington) and Lord Castle-reagh. As to myself, I will, if necessary, go to the bridge in person; they may then blow me up, if they like.—Louis. Saturday, 10 a.m."

This was on the 18th of July. Three days later the King again wrote to Talleyrand: "The conduct of the Allied armies will very soon drive my people into arming themselves *en masse* after the example of the Spaniards. Were I a younger man I would place myself at their head." Talleyrand's correspondence shows the same condition of affairs in the provinces a month later. For instance, M. de Bourienne, deputy for the Yonne, wrote from Auxerre on 20th August: "Four days ago this department was in despair; the public funds were seized and carried off; there were enormous requisitions and exaggerated demands of every description; maltreatment and threats of military executions, and a studied contempt for the King's agents. Such was the conduct of the Bavarians." Small wonder that many welcomed the King, so as to be rid of the invader.

IV.

1815-1829.

RE-ESTABLISHED on his throne rather by the efforts of the Allies than his own, Louis's first business was to get the machinery of government going again. Accordingly, on the day of his return to Paris, a new Ministry was announced. Talleyrand took the head, as President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Fouché again received the Ministry of Police, at the instigation of *Monsieur*, but to the horror and disgust of the King. Attempts were made to enlist the services of the duc de Richelieu and General Pozzo di Borgo, those two illustrious Frenchmen who had proved so capable in the service of Russia, but both declined the honour. Accordingly the vacant places were filled by the comte de Jaucourt, who, no longer needed at the Foreign Office, became Minister of Marine; by Baron Louis, who reappeared at the Ministry of Finance; by Baron Pasquier, who held the portfolios of Justice and the Interior; by Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr as Minister of War; and finally by Count Beugnot, who became Postmaster-General. Five days later a royal proclamation dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and summoned the electoral colleges.

It now fell to the lot of the King and his govern-

ment to deal with those of his former supporters who had gone over to Napoleon during the Hundred Days. The duc d'Otrante, as Minister of Police, was particularly assiduous in the matter, seeking to cover up his own treachery by making a great show against others. Obviously it was impossible to excuse all offenders, though the milder course would be the stronger. Talleyrand proposed to dismiss those peers who had accepted a seat in Napoleon's Upper House; but Fouché won over the King to the prosecution of a long list of names, which were eventually reduced to fifty-seven in number. Of these only nineteen were brought to trial—Ney, d'Erlon, Labédoyère, the two Lallemands, Laborde, Desnottes, Ameille, Brayer, Gilly, Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, Lavalette, and Rovigo. The remainder—which included such well-known names as Soult, Exelmans, Carnot—were expelled from the capital and subjected to police supervision. On 24th July thirty peers, designated by Talleyrand, were expelled from the Upper House. A month later ninety-two fresh creations were announced, and the peerage declared to be hereditary.

The results of the general election of 22nd August disclosed that the electors were for the time being fanatically royalist. "*Chambre introuvable!*" exclaimed the old King when the news was brought him, and by that name the 1815-16 parliament has come down to history. But it was impossible for Talleyrand, the advocate alike of Legitimism and Constitutionalism, to remain in charge of the Government with such a chamber. Fouché, taking his cue from the ultra-royalists, inaugurated a reactionary reign of terror in the south. For this abuse

of the powers of the Ministry of Police Talleyrand secured the dismissal of his old rival (19th September). But his own work was nearly done. He was in the midst of negotiations with the Allies, who now proposed to reduce the limits of France to those of 1789, and claimed back the art treasures which Napoleon had carted off to the Louvre from every country he invaded. "The hour of retribution has arrived," wrote Wellington to the President of the Council, "and the Allied sovereigns could not permit such an opportunity for giving the French a great moral lesson to pass." Talleyrand stood out to the last against these humiliating conditions, stoutly asserting France to be the ally, not the enemy, of the Powers. "Why will you not become Minister of Europe with us?" asked Castlereagh of him. "Because I wish only to be Minister of France," was the answer. But when the *émigré* faction over-persuaded Louis into compliance, Talleyrand threw up the sponge. He resigned on 24th September, "immutably determined never, under any plea whatever, to affix his signature to any act treating of the concession of any portion of territory."

Talleyrand's resignation is virtually the end of a chapter in French history. But for him Louis XVIII. would never have received the uneasy crown of France. By his inflexible pertinacity and unequalled diplomatic skill his country had been placed once more under the rule of the House of Bourbon. But despite all the constitutional safeguards of the Charter, it was impossible to effect a permanent reconciliation between the nation and her ancient ruling dynasty. Probably no country in Europe ever saw so vast an upheaval, and received so permanent

an impress upon it, as France in the quarter century 1789 to 1814. To all intents and purposes the country to which Louis and his court returned was a new country. The wisest of French kings, after an absence abroad over this period, would have found himself bewildered in face of such a transition. The system of land tenure was altered; the ancient owners, nobles, and clergy were dispossessed. The great estates were broken up. Different laws were in force; different political institutions. The old authority of the Church counted for little, and the great mass of the population were little removed from free-thinkers. A new nobility had been created; while different hopes, ideals, and aspirations filled the minds of the populace, from the lowest to the highest. It was impossible for the Bourbons to fit into such a system, and the only difference between the King and his brother was that Louis tried to adapt himself to the new order, and Charles did not.

The duc de Richelieu was marked out, by his long association with the Russian nation, as the most suitable agent for the conclusion of the desired peace. With considerable reluctance he took up the burden. "An undoubtedly good man," Talleyrand said of him, "but a novice in diplomacy, and somewhat credulous." Once in office as President of the Council, he concluded a preliminary peace with the Allies forthwith, which was embodied in a definitive treaty at Paris on 20th November. By this treaty the provisions of May 30, 1814, were in part re-enacted; but the boundaries of France were defined as those of January 1, 1790. An indemnity of 700,000,000 francs was exacted, and an army of occupation of 150,000 imposed on the northern and north-eastern

departments for at least three years. The same day the Allies—Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—bound themselves by a fresh engagement to maintain the *status quo* in France, and appointed periodical congresses to assemble for the settlement of any relevant matters that might arise.

In the meantime matters were moving rapidly in the Chamber. The election had been carried out on the old imperial plan of indirect representation. Taxpayers of 300 francs met in each *arrondissement* and selected double the number of deputies required. These names were then submitted to the departmental colleges, who made a final choice. The poorer and the lower middle classes were, by such a system, disfranchised entirely, and the entire political power, such as it was, concentrated in less than a hundred thousand landowners, government officials, and wealthy tradesmen. As soon as it met in October the *Chambre introuvable* manifested its thirst for vengeance by legislation delivering up into the hands of the Government any even suspected of hostility to the established order, while special courts were established for the trial of political offenders. After some delay Ney was brought to trial before a military tribunal. Glad to be rid of a painful business, the soldiers assented to his counsel's plea for a trial before his peers. Accordingly, the marshal was arraigned before the Upper House, and, despite the eloquent appeal of the duc de Broglie, condemned to death. On 7th December he expiated that error of his, by which, after declaring to Louis XVIII. that Napoleon deserved to be brought to Paris in an iron cage, he deserted to him.

On January 12, 1816, the dominant majority in

the Lower House passed a law condemning all regicides and all members of the Bonaparte family to perpetual banishment. In February they re-established the right of the Church to teach in schools; in May the divorce laws were abolished. A proposed grant of forty-two million francs a year to the Church, and the restitution of its property, was defeated, as were the proposals of Villèle and Vaublanc for a new electoral law. The peers were far more reasonable than the commons. Richelieu and the King soon became seriously alarmed in face of these reactionary proceedings; and before Parliament reassembled in the autumn, Decazes, the Minister of Police, induced Louis to exercise his prerogative under the Charter, and dismiss the Lower House (5th September). A general election took place on 4th October, and the Moderates prevailed; at the same time the number of deputies was reduced from 402 to 258.

The outstanding event of 1817 was the passing of a new electoral law, constituting all voters paying 300 francs in taxation into *arrondissements*, and abolishing second voting in the departments (5th February). A very important law was passed on March 18, 1818, under the inspiration of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, the Minister for War. By this Act all Frenchmen were obliged to draw lots for military service; those upon whom the lot fell were liable for service during a period of seven years; but substitution was allowed. This system provided at the time for an army of 240,000, and remained in force until Marshal Niel's reorganization half a century later.

In September the duc de Richelieu attended at Aix-la-Chapelle the first of the congresses contemplated

under the last Treaty of Paris. Here he succeeded in his application for the withdrawal of the army of occupation. But he was reminded of the inflexible determination of the Allies to stamp out any fresh revolution in France. In their eyes France was still a conquered country. He returned to the capital, to find the recent elections had inclined to the advantage of the Left. All his moderation had gone for nothing. No man more than he had striven to reconcile the old France with the new. Broad-minded, and free from all pettiness, he had laboured faithfully, but to little purpose. Tired out by the factions in the chambers, shortly after the reassembling of Parliament he resigned (December 21, 1818). General Dessolle thereupon succeeded him as President of the Council; Decazes went to the Ministry of the Interior, and became the guiding spirit of the new Cabinet. Count Decazes was a moderate Royalist of liberal opinions. While Minister of the Interior he induced Louis to overcome opposition in the Upper House by the creation of sixty new peers, and after he became President of the Council (November 19, 1819) he did much to improve the state of the country in education, in commerce, and in agriculture. But his moderation was anathema to the comte d'Artois and the Ultras who surrounded him. When, on February 13, 1820, the duc de Berri was assassinated outside the Opéra, an outcry arose against Decazes's administration, and he was forced to resign. Louis XVIII., however, created him a duke as a mark of confidence, and appointed him ambassador to London. In his place came back Richelieu, now committed to a frankly reactionary policy, and dependent upon the support of the Right. The censorship of the press,

which had been abolished in 1819, was restored. In June a new electoral law was passed setting up 172 deputies to be elected in the *arrondissements*, and 258 in the departmental electoral colleges. As the qualifications for electors in the latter were high, the new law practically placed all the electoral machinery in the hands of the great landowners.

All this time the King's health, bad enough when he returned from exile, had been growing steadily worse. Louis, agonized by gout, and almost unable to move, was incapable of directing affairs. Galling as it was to him, he was forced to submit to the ascendancy of his brother Charles, who was practically acting as regent. Utterly unable to follow the path of moderation, d'Artois was determined on a policy of reaction. When, on December 12, 1821, Richelieu resigned office for a second time, he procured the appointment of Jean Baptiste Villèle, the Minister of Finance, as President of the Council. Villèle sat on the extreme Right, and was a professed opponent of the Charter; yet the King was now called upon to ennoble him, and formally constitute him head of the Cabinet. "Now that M. Villèle triumphs," exclaimed the old King, as he did so, "I regard myself as annihilated. So far I have preserved the Crown and defended the Charter; if my brother imperils both, that is his affair."

So the work of repression went on. The great masses who had known the days of the *plébiscite* found themselves without political power. The press censorship, re-enacted by Villèle, prevented the free expression of opinion, while at this time also the protection of juries was modified (March 1822). But Charles had other aims. He was anxious to restore



LOUIS XVIII.

(From the mezzotint by C. Turner after the painting by H. Villiers.)

a vigorous foreign policy. An opportunity granted France at the Congress in Verona of this year was eagerly embraced. Since 1820 the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII., had been held prisoner by a faction in Spain, and the whole country was in a state of wild anarchy. France was, therefore, authorized to send an expedition across the Pyrenees to set matters right. The duc d'Angoulême was put in command of a powerful army, and he crossed into Spain on April 7, 1823, being very favourably received by the populace, who sympathized with their king in his troubles. Not that captivity was any new experience for Ferdinand, as he had already been deposed from his throne by Napoleon, and shut up for six years in the château de Valençay, Talleyrand's country house (1808-14). On 23rd May the French entered Madrid, and on 30th August the Trocadéro fortress at Cadiz was stormed. The king's captors fled with him into the town, where they were surrounded and besieged. Upon their surrender Ferdinand, disowning an amnesty he had promised under compulsion, was re-established upon his throne, and proceeded to misgovern in accordance with his weak and senseless nature, being dominated at one moment by the clergy, at another by his wife, Maria-Christina.

Having persuaded Louis XVIII. to silence the Liberal majority in the House of Peers by twenty-seven fresh creations, Villèle, upon the strength of the successful expedition of d'Angoulême, entered upon a general election. Intoxicated by this faint glimmer of military glory, the handful of electors returned the Ultras with a sweeping majority, only nineteen Liberals securing election (February 25, 1824). The new Chamber, the *Chambre retrouvée*, continued the policy

of tinkering with the constitution, and on 9th June passed a Septennial Act overriding the quinquennial elections contemplated in the Charter. This was the last important incident in the reign of Louis XVIII., for the old King died on 16th September, aged just short of threescore years and ten, and was buried in great state in the royal vault at St. Denis, where his coffin may be seen to this day side by side with those containing the bones of Marie-Antoinette, Louis XVI., and the duc de Berri—all three of whom met a violent death. Neither a good man, nor a straight man, nor an able man, according to his lights Louis XVIII. strove to play a difficult part with dignity, and is not among the worst of his house who have occupied the throne of France.

At last the moment of his life, long and eagerly awaited, was come to the comte d'Artois. Ascending the throne as Charles X., he could now show to the world how a king should reign. In presence every inch a king, he would restore those ancient glories of his forefathers which had been for so long discontinued. In person, in word and deed, Charles meant to govern as a king should govern. If he had less tact, he had more honesty than his brother. Never had he posed as the friend of constitutional government, except perhaps on that awful day when the news of Napoleon's return reached the Tuileries. As a politician he had ever since the Restoration stood at the head of the party of reaction. To him the returned *émigrés* looked for guidance and assistance, just as they had done in the lean days of exile, when his enthusiasm and persistence kept the flag of legitimism flying. It was at his court that nobles and prelates had gathered to plot and plan for the restoration of the

old order. Hampered and straitened during his brother's reign, he had the opportunity at last, and he would use it. He would govern as a king by divine right, and as the representative of an illustrious dynasty. And, fortunately, the means were not far to seek, for the recent election had given the reactionaries an overwhelming preponderance in the Lower House; and Villèle, a creature of his, was President of the Council.

On their part, the people for the moment appreciated a change of monarch. For the first time they really felt they had a king. It was no longer a helpless invalid carted about in a chair or a special seated carriage that represented the appearance of majesty in their midst, but a countenance and figure of singular grace and charm. If they had misgivings, at any rate they were determined not to show them. But Charles was incapable of moderation. Relying upon the reactionary majority in the Lower Chamber, blind to the fact that a chamber elected on such a franchise could never represent the people, and secure in the sympathy of Villèle, he made not the slightest attempt at concession. With hurrying footsteps he forced on that restoration of the *ancien régime* which Villèle had quietly set himself to accomplish. When his first Parliament met in December the King came down and announced his intention to recompense the *émigrés* for the loss of their property, which he considered would "close the last wounds left by the Revolution." The plan adopted was a reduction of interest on the national debt, which had been already proposed by the Government in the spring of 1824 and rejected by the peers. Interest was to be reduced from 5 per cent. to 4 per

cent. on the debt of 2,800,000,000 francs ; this represented a saving in interest of 28,000,000 francs—rather more than a million pounds sterling—which it was determined to distribute in pensions among the impoverished nobility and gentry. After a struggle in Parliament the Bill became law in April 1825. Within a few hours of the passing of this measure, which spread uneasiness right and left, the statute book received a fresh addition in the “law of sacrilege.” By this Act sacrilege, such as the theft of the holy vessels, was made a felony punishable with death. But although the Bill passed, the Government never dared put it in force. The following month, May 1825, nunneries were granted legal establishment and placed under the protection of the King’s majesty.

On 29th May Charles was crowned in solemn state at Reims. Not for fifty years had any such scene been enacted in the venerable cathedral. All the ancient glories of a coronation ceremony were revived, or, rather, of an anointing ; for kings of France were “anointed” at Reims and crowned at Notre Dame. Opportunely the sacred *ampoule*, destroyed in the Revolution, made its reappearance, and in the presence of foreign potentates, marshals, and courtiers, Charles X. was anointed with the holy oil which came down from heaven. These proceedings were reported throughout the length and breadth of France, and the intimate relationship of the King with Church and clergy occasioned no little uneasiness and misgiving. Men saw in the coronation the last step in the restoration of that pre-revolutionary past which the country was determined never again to tolerate.

So time went on. In 1826 an attempt to restore the ancient law of entail was only defeated by the

opposition of the Upper House. A similar stand made by the peers in 1827 prevented the placing of fresh restrictions of unusual severity upon all printed matter, books as well as newspapers. It was evident the Government were as oblivious of *Liberté* as they were of *Égalité* and *Fraternité*. But two important events occurred in this year. The first was the commencement of those operations in Algeria which were finally to add to France the most valuable of her colonies. From time immemorial pirates of Barbary had scoured the North African coast, plundering whatever vessel they came across. As lately as the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) measures had been discussed for the suppression of their activities. When, on April 30, 1827, the Dey of Algiers struck the French consul, Deval, in the face with a fly-flapper, an opportunity was offered to France to come to an understanding, which Charles was not slow to take advantage of. Algiers was blockaded, though for the moment Villèle declined to go further. But when, on August 3, 1829, the *Provence*, flying a flag of truce, was fired upon in the harbour at Algiers, an expeditionary force was prepared; it landed at Sidi-Ferruch (June 14, 1830), and on 5th July Algiers capitulated, and was permanently occupied by the French.

The second incursion of Charles X. into foreign politics this year had equally satisfactory results. A treaty was concluded in London (July 6, 1827) between Great Britain, Russia, and France, calling upon the Turks and Greeks for an armistice as a preliminary to the declaration of Greek independence. For the first time since Napoleon the Powers treated with France as an equal. France could hold

up her head in Europe. The Greeks accepted the armistice, but the Turkish Government refused. After a month of fruitless negotiation, of promises made and promises broken, an allied squadron of Russians, French, and English blockaded the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Navarino. As a consequence of the Turks opening fire upon a British emissary, an action ensued which resulted in the destruction of three-fourths of the Turkish fleet (October 20, 1827). By the battle of Navarino Greece was assured of that independence she had sought after for many generations.

Success abroad, however, did not compensate for repression at home. On the defeat of the Censorship Bill Paris illuminated, and when, on 27th April, the King reviewed the Garde Nationale, loud cries were raised against the Government. Villèle, the Ministry, and the Jesuits were hooted. "I am here," exclaimed the King, "to receive homage, not advice." Charles returned in high dudgeon, and disbanded the National Guard. In June, immediately after the chambers had risen, the Government by a fresh *coup d'état* renewed the censorship of the press. When the news of Navarino arrived, Villèle prepared a further blow for his enemies by prevailing upon Charles to dismiss the Chamber (November 5, 1827). But the deputies elected after Navarino were not of the same mind as those elected after Trocadéro. A Liberal-Royalist majority assembled in the Palais Bourbon, and the Government preponderance in the Upper House, just secured by the nomination of seventy-six new peers, was of little avail. On 5th December the ministry of Villèle, the longest during the Restoration, came to an end. A month later

the vicomte de Martignac became Minister of the Interior and President of the Council, having insisted on Villèle's removal to the House of Peers as a condition of taking office. Martignac had been a supporter of Villèle, especially in his earlier and more moderate policy; he had accompanied the duc d'Angoulême in the Spanish campaign, and was a member of the Conseil d'État. Possessed of tact and moderation, and a gifted parliamentary orator, he seemed eminently fitted for his post. His first step was to remove the ban upon the *doctrinaire* Liberals such as Guizot, who had been dismissed from his post as director-general of communes and departments after the murder of the duc de Berri, and even forbidden to lecture. Guizot was now restored to his professorship and his seat in the Council of State. Royer-Collard, a Liberal-Royalist, became President of the Chamber.

The ministry of Martignac was essentially a ministry of moderation and of compromise. It was his business to prevent things going to extremes. He, therefore, removed the press censorship and the necessity for preliminary authorization which had been imposed upon newspapers. On the other hand, if journalists were prosecuted, he left them to the tender mercies of the ordinary tribunals, without the protection of a jury. Further, as a set-off against the labours of Bishop Frayssinous at the Ministry of Education and Public Worship, the Jesuits were forbidden to teach in ecclesiastical seminaries (June 17, 1828), and the numbers of pupils in these establishments were limited to 20,000 throughout the country. Yet the policy of conciliation, anathema alike to the extreme parties, made Martignac's position in the

Chamber one of great insecurity. The parliamentary session 1828-29 was singularly uneventful as regards legislation. In April the Government were defeated in the Lower House by a combination of Left and Right, but held on to office till the Budget was passed in August. Then Martignac resigned. Charles resolved to constitute a ministry in whom he could place the fullest confidence. On the 8th of August he gave the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Jules de Polignac, an *émigré* once implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy, who had been made by the Pope a prince, and had served as French ambassador in London since 1823. Although he was not actually appointed to the Presidency of the Council until November, Polignac assumed the direction of affairs immediately. A brave man, an able man, but narrow-minded and a bigot, he was a minister after Charles's own heart. He, at any rate, would be true to the principles of the *ancien régime*.

V.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

“ I DO not think the events of my reign will occupy any distinguished place in history. But there are two circumstances in my life which will be remarked by posterity—the resistance I offered to the pretensions of the *tiers état* in 1789, and the nomination of the ministry of the 8th of August.” These are the words of Charles X., and he was not mistaken in the historical importance of Polignac’s ministry. That ministry was destined in its fall to encompass his own political annihilation.

On taking office the prince announced his business as the reorganization of society and the enhancement of the political power of the clergy and nobility. But his activities fell far short of his promises. A strange paralysis came over him, to the surprise of his enemies and the disgust of his friends. In November Labourdonnaye resigned from the Ministry of the Interior, and a partial reconstruction of the Cabinet took place. After a good deal of delay, the Ministry met the Chambers on March 2, 1830. The King’s speech from the throne was anything but conciliatory. Declaring that “if guilty manœuvres continue to oppose obstacles to my government, I shall find the strength to overcome them in my resolution,”

Charles threw down the gauntlet. The deputies were not slow to accept the challenge. In their reply they denounced the Cabinet, and a remonstrance, signed by 221 deputies, was presented to the King on 18th March. "Sire," they protested, "our loyalty and our devotion oblige us to inform you that concurrence cannot exist between those who disown a country so calm, so faithful, and us, who from deep conviction are come to lay in your bosom the grief of a whole nation." Nettled by this firm stand, Charles retaliated by dissolving Parliament, opposing defiance to defiance. Popular sympathy declared itself overwhelmingly in favour of the protesting deputies. Macaulay, who visited Paris at this time, tells how, on asking his cabman his *numéro*, he was answered, "Ah, monsieur, c'est un beau numéro. C'est un brave numéro. C'est 221."

Further changes in the Government took place in May, and de Peyronnet at the Ministry of the Interior was placed in charge of a general election. In spite of all that departmental pressure which is exercised on such occasions by a French Government, 220 of the 221 were returned to the Chamber, while their ranks were increased by fifty-three additional supporters. Polignac found himself barely able to muster 100 votes (19th July). Under these depressing conditions the new Parliament was summoned to meet on 3rd August. But before the elections were over an event happened which raised the drooping spirits of King and Ministers. On the 9th of July news arrived that the expedition dispatched by Polignac after the firing on the *Provence* had successfully occupied Algiers. This victory was announced to the populace by the booming guns of

the Invalides; and the King attended a solemn thanksgiving at Notre Dame in gorgeous state.

Algiers provided the Ministry with just the opportunity they desired. Believing their popularity enhanced by this success, a *coup d'état* was boldly and deliberately planned. Charles and Polignac determined on the destruction of the power of the Press, and the restriction of the electorate to the mere shadow of a shade—in other words, on removing every constitutional safeguard against absolutism. Accordingly a number of ordinances were secretly prepared between the 10th and 25th of July, designed to place France at the mercy of the King. On Sunday, 25th July, Charles X. formally placed his signature to the draft—and the *Ordonnances de St. Cloud* were consummated. Their provisions were six in number, but only the first three are of historical importance. Article one declared that for the future no newspaper or periodical of any kind of less than twenty sheets of letterpress might appear without an authorization from the Crown, renewable every quarter. The second article dissolved the newly-elected Chamber; while the third reduced the number of deputies from 430 to 258, and disfranchised three-quarters of the electorate at one stroke. "Sir," exclaimed the editor of the *Moniteur* when he received the manuscript at 11 p.m. on the Sunday night, "I have but one word to say: God save the King. God save France."

At 5 a.m. on Monday, the 26th, the comte de Chabrol, Prefect of the Seine, read the news with amazement. Marshal Marmont, the duc de Raguse, heard this news at St. Cloud, but failed to get a paper, the only one being in the King's possession.

At 11.30 a.m. he came into Paris still uncertain. In Paris the news spread slowly, and the Prefect of Police, M. Mangin, anticipated no danger. But there was one class of men for whom the *Ordonnances* were fatal—the journalists. Convinced that they were in for a life-and-death struggle, these gathered at the office of the *National*, a Liberal journal recently founded by Mignet and a young Marseilles lawyer, Louis Adolphe Thiers, in opposition to the policy of Polignac. Here a strongly-worded protest was hurriedly drawn up. “In the circumstances in which we are placed,” it ran, “obedience ceases to be a duty. The citizens who have been first called on to obey are the writers of the newspapers; they ought first to give the example of resistance to authority. This day the Government has violated legality. We are set free from obedience. We mean to attempt to publish our journals without demanding the authorization which is imposed upon us.” In conclusion an appeal was made to the deputies, who were reminded that, as they had never assembled, they could not be dismissed by the King, and they were exhorted to meet on 3rd August as if nothing had happened. Forty-four signatures were appended to this address, representing every great newspaper in the capital.

This day the King hunted at Rambouillet as usual. And so sure was Polignac that he remarked to a friend that had he any spare cash he would invest it in the funds. In spite of this confidence the mob made an abortive attempt to overturn his carriage, and about 11 p.m. smashed his windows. But beyond this and the destruction of a few street lamps, no actual disturbances took place. Crowds were to

be seen up till a late hour in the place du Palais Royal and other central districts, but that was all.

Next morning indications were not so favourable, though there were as yet no signs of a revolution. At an early hour the working-class districts in the eastern quarters were astir, and cries of "Vive la Charte" were to be heard in the Bastille neighbourhood. About 10 a.m. the workshops in the faubourg St. Antoine were closed, and bodies of respectably dressed working men steadily moved towards the centre of the town, calling out for the downfall of Polignac. An hour later some cavalry were obliged to charge a hostile crowd in the place du Palais Royal. Marmont arrived at the Tuileries soon after noon, and, by the King's order, took command of the available troops, which numbered some 9,200, of whom only half could be absolutely depended on. After continued disturbance and throwing of stones, instructions were sent, about 4.30 p.m., directing the military to occupy the place de la Concorde, the place du Carrousel, and the Grands Boulevards; while troops were also posted in the place de la Bastille, the place Vendôme, at the porte St. Martin, and a strong guard outside Polignac's *hôtel* in the boulevard des Capucines. In a few places collisions took place between the population and the soldiers, but for the most part the people contented themselves with endeavouring to win over the regiments of the line, crying out the while, "Mort aux Ministres," "Mort au Roi," "Vive la Charte," "Vive la République," and in some few places, "Vive Napoléon," "Vive Napoléon II." Still the Government had no fear of its ability to cope with the situation. M. de Chantelauze, Keeper of the Seals, and

Polignac retained an atmosphere of cheerful confidence. About 11 p.m. all was quiet.

But other proceedings took place this day. The *National*, *Figaro*, and *Temps* newspapers duly appeared in the morning. About 11 a.m. the office of the *National* was raided by the police, and the printing presses were dismantled. A similar fate befell the *Temps* half an hour later. On their part the offended deputies assembled at the house of M. Casimir-Périer in the rue Neuve du Luxembourg, and drew up a protest against the ordinances, declaring that the Chamber could not be dismissed seeing it had not yet met, and affirming the legality of their elections according to the Charter. A second meeting took place in the evening at M. Audry de Puyravault's, when it was decided to call out the suppressed National Guard, and Lafayette was invited to take command. As very few peers were in town, the Upper House remained inactive. Quite confident the King hunted all day, dined heartily, and played cards till bedtime.

On the morning of the 28th affairs looked more threatening. Crowds reassembled in the central districts soon after dawn, and citizens of all classes proceeded to tear down the royal arms from tradesmen's shops and to remove the white flag wherever it was displayed. In order to hinder communication with the provinces the telegraphs were rendered useless. More than this, raids were made on the gunsmiths' shops, the armouries of the theatres, and the Musée d'Artillerie was robbed of its weapons. The uniforms of the National Guard reappeared in the streets, the tricolour was hoisted on Notre Dame, and preparations for armed resistance were visible on

every side. Polignac visited St. Cloud at an early hour, and Charles declared Paris in a state of siege. But when the usual hour for the royal council arrived, only Peyronnet put in an appearance; the rest of the Ministers remained in the capital, where, in view of the dangerous situation, they took refuge at the Tuileries.

At 9 a.m. Marshal Marmont wrote to the King emphasizing the grave outlook. "It is no longer a commotion; it is a revolution. It is of urgency that your Majesty take means of pacification. The honour of the Crown may yet be saved; to-morrow, perhaps, it may be no longer possible." That morning a fresh disposition of troops was effected. But the troops found themselves confronted by an armed multitude on every hand. One column, which was directed to march by the porte St. Denis to the place du Châtelet found itself imprisoned in the marché des Innocents; another, directed along the quays to the Hôtel de Ville, was compelled to take refuge in the precincts of the *hôtel*. At nightfall both of these divisions retreated to the Tuileries. Blood was shed freely in every quarter of the city. In addition to the marché des Innocents and the place du Châtelet, there were encounters in the place de Grève, the place des Victoires, the porte St. Denis, the Louvre, the rue St. Honoré, and elsewhere. Barricades—those strange defences composed of overturned omnibuses and carts augmented by paving-stones and rubbish, which characterize French street fighting—were erected on every side. In all quarters of the town attacks were made upon the barracks of the soldiers and gendarmerie. And all this in a temperature of 95°.

No little agitation was manifested in the military headquarters at the Tuileries. "I am compelled to use rigorous measures," remarked Marmont to General Tromelin. "If I succeed, my fellow-citizens will never forgive me. If I fail, I shall probably receive only ingratitude." Shortly before three o'clock a party of five deputies waited upon the Marshal; these were MM. Laffitte, Casimir-Périer, Gérard, Lobau, and Mauguin, who were sent after a further meeting that morning at the house of M. Audry de Puyravault. To their demand for firing to cease, for the dismissal of the Ministry, and the recall of the *Ordonnances*, Marmont returned a firm but conciliatory answer. He could do nothing himself, he said, but he would take care to communicate their requests to the King. Prince Polignac, who was in the Tuileries, declined an interview. At 3.30 p.m. Marmont wrote to the King that the troops "run no risk of being forced to evacuate their positions, but I cannot hide from you that the situation becomes more and more serious." He transmitted the deputies' desires, and requested an early reply. Thereupon the King ordered him to concentrate all his forces upon the Carrousel and the place de la Concorde, and hold on. This day there were three hundred casualties in the Guard alone.

All night of the 28th the populace laboured diligently at the erection of barricades. Even women and boys lent a hand. By daybreak on the 29th—the decisive day—the number of barricades was estimated at from six to ten thousand; these were each about four feet high, from four to five feet thick, and from about forty to fifty paces apart. At 5 a.m. the gendarmerie barracks in the rue des Tournelles were



CHARLES X.

(After the painting by Ingres.)

captured. Marmont held all his available troops in the immediate vicinity of the Louvre and Tuileries, and was definitely on the defensive. From an early hour the quays across the Seine were occupied by the populace and National Guards, who maintained a desultory fire on the Louvre. About 10 a.m. an assault, led by some sixty students of the *École Polytechnique*, was commenced on the barracks of the Swiss troops in the rue de Babylone. At the same time the archbishop's palace hard by Notre Dame was sacked, and all the while a lively contest obtained to the north of the rue de Rivoli. At 11.30 the Marshal's fears were realized, and the troops in the place Vendôme and at the Palais Bourbon fraternized with the people. He now made an attempt at conciliation. Copies of a proclamation printed earlier in the day were distributed by the Guards, in which Marmont lamented "the events of yesterday, which have caused many tears to be shed and much blood to flow," and, "moved by humanity," consented to suspend hostilities. This truce was no sooner made than broken.

The final act only remained. At noon, in order to close up the gaps caused by the defection of his troops in the place Vendôme, Marmont ordered the Swiss Guards defending the colonnade of the Louvre to abandon their station. No sooner was this done than the mob obtained entrance into the Louvre and swept along the corridors beside the Seine into the great picture galleries. Here, after they had destroyed a couple of pictures of Charles X., firing was commenced upon the Swiss assembled in the place du Carrousel below. Thrown into confusion, these immediately stampeded in disorder through the Petit

Arc de Triomphe and the archway beyond into the Tuileries gardens. About 1 p.m. the populace were in possession of the palace, and there they remained for the rest of the day. Some raided the royal cellars, others threw themselves on the King's bed, while one fellow seated himself on the throne with a bottle of champagne in one hand and a glass in the other. He was succeeded by a comrade, who remarked that the throne "was very comfortable and easy; why the devil cannot a man keep himself on it?" The final occupant was the corpse of one of the students of the Polytechnic school.

Meanwhile the Ministers assembled at St. Cloud. Polignac, Peyronnet, Montbel, and the rest were there. Hardly had they arrived when news came that the Tuileries was captured and the Royal Guards in retreat. When the council assembled Charles assented to the revocation of the *Ordonnances*, nominated the duc de Mortemart to form a new Ministry, and sent him to Paris to announce the news. But the final victory of the people had put a fresh complexion on affairs in the capital. A number of deputies assembled at Laffitte's house, and appointed a provisional government, consisting of Lafayette, who was placed at the head of the victorious National Guards, Marshal Gérard, and the duc de Choiseul. A commission, composed of Laffitte, Casimir-Périer, Mauguin, Lobau, Puyravault, Odier, and de Schonnen, was appointed to ensure the preservation of order, with the Hôtel de Ville as its headquarters. When Mortemart arrived that evening the provisional government indicated that they could not recognize the King's appointment.

The following morning a deputation from this

body appeared at the château de Neuilly, charged to invite Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the most popular member of the royal family, to put himself at the head of the new Government. D'Orléans was not to be found, having withdrawn to Raincy on learning the abandonment of the Tuileries. Having delivered their message to the duke's sister, Madame Adelaide, the deputies, Dupin, Persil, and Thiers, withdrew. That evening the duke returned to Neuilly, and on the following morning proceeded to Paris, prepared to take up the proffered post of Lieutenant-General of the Realm. Accompanied by a party of deputies, he rode from the Palais Royal to the Hôtel de Ville. Here he met with a favourable reception from the commissioners, and was introduced to the crowd below by Lafayette, the aged general and the duke publicly embracing one another on the balcony. As for the King, at 3 a.m. that day, 31st July, he left St. Cloud and retreated to the Trianon at Versailles, under the protection of the remnant of Marmont's troops which had gathered round his person. Not feeling safe here, he passed on to Rambouillet.

Confirmed in his authority as Lieutenant-General, d'Orléans on 1st August decreed the resumption of the tricolour as the national flag, and having re-appointed Lafayette, summoned Parliament to assemble upon the 3rd of August, the original date fixed for meeting. From Rambouillet Charles X. wrote to the Duke of Orleans appointing him to his new office, and declaring that he and the Dauphin abdicated in favour of his grandson, the young duc de Bordeaux, better known as the comte de Chambord (2nd August). This letter arrived late on the eve of the opening of Parliament, and was com-

municated to the Houses without comment. Louis-Philippe was too deeply committed to appear as an advocate of the fallen dynasty. On the 7th August he was elected to the throne by both Houses, and on the 9th formally took his seat on the throne, swearing obedience to the Charter and the Declaration demanded of him. At the same time he assumed the title of Louis-Philippe, King of the French.

Thus after sixteen years the throne of the restored Bourbons came to an end. Upon the rock of the Charter the ship of Legitimism was broken up. Talleyrand's schemes, brilliant and clever as they were, met the fate of all schemes. The attempt to graft in the old rulers upon a country turned upside down by the Revolution and the Empire proved a failure. "The Revolution," wrote Lamartine at the end of his history of the Girondists, "had lasted only five years. These five years are five centuries for France. Never perhaps on this earth, at any period since the commencement of the Christian era, did any country produce, in so short a space of time, such an eruption of ideas, men, natures, characters, geniuses, talents, catastrophes, crimes, and virtues, as during these convulsive throes of the social and political future which is called by the name of France." During the whole of this period and the twenty years succeeding it, Louis XVIII. and Charles X., neither of them men of genius, and both well advanced in middle age, were exiles from the country of their birth and race. With the new order they had neither sympathy nor patience. To them France was the country that had murdered their brother, and starved to death in shame unspeakable his only son, and cast them out. Possessed of such ideas, Talleyrand, resur-

recting the principle of Legitimism, recalled them to the throne on conditions which were abhorrent. The crown, indeed, was a prize too great to be thrown away; yet the constitutional safeguards and guarantees demanded were but grudgingly given. When the Charter made its appearance it came as a royal gift *octroyée et concédée* by Louis XVIII. Logically, no doubt, the King was right. The attempt to combine constitutional government with Legitimism was foredoomed to failure, Talleyrand himself could scarcely have failed to observe the dilemma. If Louis XVIII. assumed the crown by hereditary right, the sovereign power belonged to him. If he received the crown by the gift of the people, then Legitimism had no bearing on the situation. The Bourbons claimed the throne as by hereditary right, and adopted the name and style of a reigning family while, in fact, exiles from France. How could they regard themselves in a different light when called to the throne avowedly in obedience to the principle of Legitimism? The combination of Constitutionalism and Legitimism could never be otherwise than a political compromise.

During the whole of the Restoration period the lower classes were disfranchised. What political power the electors possessed was concentrated in the upper middle classes and the nobility. Louis XVIII. paid sufficient attention to the wishes of the electorate to maintain a show of political freedom. Charles, more logical but less shrewd than his brother, threw off all restraint, and declared himself alone to be the source of government. The ministry of Villèle lost him the support of the electors, the ministry of Polignac that of the masses. When he withdrew

the privileges Louis had granted by the Charter a combination of the classes and the masses tumbled him into the dust. It could not be otherwise.

“Vive la Charte” was the popular watchword of the Revolution of 1830. It was the maintenance of the Charter and not the overthrow of the principle of monarchy that the people fought for. No opposition was offered to the deputies when they took charge of affairs and called Louis-Philippe to the helm. There was, indeed, one man who stood for a republic—Lafayette; but throughout the crisis he betrayed a timid hesitation, and allowed himself to be overruled by his younger colleagues. To fill the gap if the monarchy were to be continued, there could be no other and no better choice than the Duke of Orleans. His residence, the Palais Royal, had long been the rendezvous of middle-class society. His name had long been whispered behind the King’s back as the one marked out for the true leader of the people. He, at any rate, would know how to observe the spirit of the Charter. His name, his history, and his experience alike appealed to the popular imagination, and especially to that of the *bourgeoisie*.

By order of the provisional government Charles X. was permitted to withdraw from France unmolested. Making his way to the coast through le Merlerault, Argentan, and St. Lo, he sailed from Cherbourg for Spithead on the *Great Britain*, and soon established himself at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

VI.

THE JULY MONARCHY.

LEGITIMISM having failed, Louis-Philippe was raised to the throne as the representative of Constitutionalism. His wife, Marie-Amélie, could never get over her husband's being a usurper; but such scruples had little weight with the new King. He styled himself "*Roi des Français*," never *de France*. The white flag of the House of Bourbon was discarded, and the tricolour re-established. No mention was made of the grace of God in the royal style, because, as Frederick-William wrote to Queen Victoria, the King "could not so describe himself." Louis-Philippe's reign is known to history as the "July Monarchy," or the "Citizen Monarchy."

Few princes have had so chequered a career as Louis-Philippe. He was the son of Louis-Philippe-Joseph, that duc d'Orléans who had, after a life of dissipation, espoused the cause of the Revolution, and accepted from Hébert the nickname of *Égalité*. As a stripling the young prince, then known as the duc de Chartres, had been entered into the Jacobins' club by his father. Given a command in the army, he, as a lad of eighteen, was engaged in the revolutionary wars at Valmy and Jemappes. Even before *Égalité* bent his neck beneath that same guillotine

to which by his vote "on his conscience and honour" he had sent the ill-fated Louis XVI., Louis-Philippe became a wanderer. Destitute of resources, at one time he was glad to earn a few pounds as tutor of mathematics and languages in the college at Reichenau (October 1793). Here he learnt of his father's death, and, shouldering again his knapsack, set off on fresh travels. First he visited Hamburg; thence he passed on through Scandinavia into Lapland. Returning to Hamburg, he agreed to sail for America on condition of the Directory releasing his mother and two brothers, Montpensier and Beaujolais, from imprisonment, and restoring the Orleans patrimony (September 24, 1796). After three years of strange adventures he arrived in London in February 1800. Here, through the agency of Dumouriez, his former general, he met *Monsieur*, who received him graciously, and assisted in a reconciliation with Louis XVIII. For the time being he settled at Twickenham, and remained in England until after Montpensier's death from consumption (May 18, 1807). Thence he moved to Malta early in 1808. Here, at Valetta, the other brother died from the same complaint. The duke next visited Palermo, where, after considerable opposition, he married Marie-Amélie, the second daughter of Ferdinand IV., King of Sicily, on November 25, 1809. At the first Restoration he returned to Paris. On account of his early associations and his refusal to fight against France, he was an object of suspicion to Louis XVIII. and Charles X.; indeed, the years 1815-17 found him in voluntary exile at Twickenham. On his coming back to France in 1817 he lived a life somewhat ostentatiously apart from the Court until the July Revolu-

tion summoned him to the throne. When Louis-Philippe assumed the crown he had two great points in his favour: he had never fought against France, and his election was due to no outside foreign interference.

Fifty-six years old when he crossed over from the Palais Royal to the Tuileries, France's new sovereign found difficulties from the very first. One of his earliest acts was to enlist Talleyrand in his service with the object of placating the European Powers. England acknowledged Louis-Philippe before, on 25th September, Talleyrand arrived in London as ambassador of France. In his *Memoirs* Talleyrand laments the want of "that courageous loyalty and firmness which might have arrested a feeble and credulous prince on the downward path," and justifies his taking office under Louis-Philippe by the assertion that if the July Monarchy failed, "I saw nothing before us but another Republic, and the terrible consequences it would entail—anarchy, a revolutionary war, and all the other evils from which France had been rescued with so much difficulty in 1815." It became his business, then, so to conduct affairs in London as to effect a foreign policy agreeable to Great Britain, and to gain her powerful support for Louis-Philippe's throne. One by one the other Powers, and last of all Russia, acknowledged the change of monarch.

But affairs at home were more difficult. The King's Jacobin associations hung like a millstone round his neck. His lack of hereditary right and his popular election to the crown were a source of daily annoyance. "Voilà la meilleure république," Lafayette had exclaimed when he presented Louis-

Philippe on the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville. And once on the throne, Louis-Philippe found himself inundated with the importunate demands of Liberals, Socialists, Republicans, malcontents of every colour. In proportion as the citizen monarchy was dissociated from the rule of the House of Bourbon, the kingly line of twenty generations, its difficulties increased. If Louis XVIII. and Charles X. found it beyond their power to satisfy the aspirations of a few hundred *émigrés*, what of Louis-Philippe, who was called upon to resolve the individual grievances of the conflicting factions of a whole nation? A popular outbreak had seated him on the throne, and the good will of the people alone could keep him there. He was obliged, therefore, to include in his first Ministry a number of those Liberal deputies who had called him to the helm. In the Ministry of August 11, 1830, were to be found Dupont de l'Eure, Casimir-Périer, Dupin, Bignon; Baron Louis was recalled to the Ministry of Finances, General Sebastiani became Minister of Marine, General Gérard of War, the duc de Broglie of Education, and Count Molé (who was entirely overshadowed by Talleyrand) of Foreign Affairs.

The history of the July Monarchy readily falls into two parts—the suppression of popular disturbances at home, and the conduct of foreign affairs in general based upon friendship with England. Throughout the reign, despite the vast changes imported by the railway, the electric telegraph, and the improvements in machinery and manufacture, home politics were in a state of absolute sterility. Once the malcontents saw that they could expect no satisfaction at the hands of the new dynasty, riots abounded in

every quarter, and the King had more attempts made upon his life than any other French monarch. "First the people make idols; then they cast stones at them." This widespread unrest was mirrored in the Ministry. No less than fifteen changes of government occurred in the first decade of the reign. Louis-Philippe himself, though shrewd, brave, and experienced, was destitute of that wideness of view and loftiness of mind which characterize the true statesman. Provision for the maintenance of his dynasty and the enrichment of his family were the absorbing topics of interest in the King's mind. In everything he was encouraged, advised, and supported by his sister, Madame Adelaide, upon whose judgment he implicitly relied.

Encouraged by this successful revolution in Paris, the people of Brussels rose in insurrection on August 25, 1830. The union of Holland and Belgium consummated at the Congress of Vienna was the object of popular hatred upon the part of the Belgians, and they seized the first opportunity of throwing off the foreign yoke. "The Belgians," remarked Marshal de Trevisé, "have begun six months too soon." But the ebb and flow of fortune left the Bruxellois triumphant. On 3rd October a provisional government was formed, and the independence of Belgium proclaimed. This problem provided Talleyrand with an excellent occasion for the exhibition of his diplomatic skill throughout the four years of his embassy in London. But it was a source of infinite difficulty in Paris, where the lower orders on 18th and 19th October made noisy demonstrations in sympathy with Belgium which the Government were compelled to suppress by force. These riots were the

cause of the resignations of de Broglie and Guizot, who advocated more vigorous repression of popular disturbances (November 12, 1830). The comte de Montalivet, a satellite of the King's, was thereupon established as Minister of the Interior.

Russia evinced a desire to lend assistance to the King of Holland to reassert his authority over his rebellious subjects. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and France were prepared to extend their sympathy to the Belgians. Louis-Philippe, against his will, was obliged to discountenance the suggestion that his son, the duc de Nemours, should become the first King of the Belgians. Fresh riots broke out in Paris during the trial of the ex-minister Polignac and his colleagues (15th-21st December). Much popular dissatisfaction was caused by the avoidance of the death penalty. Polignac was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the state prison at Ham, but was released in 1836, and died at St. Germain the following year. Talleyrand's labours and influence in London were by no means assisted by the frequent disturbances in France, and he complained that it was deeply humiliating to be asked day by day, "Does your Government still exist?" Yet he successfully procured the signature of a protocol by the five Powers—Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France assenting to the declaration of Belgian independence (December 20, 1830). Very inopportunately, as it could only cast fresh suspicion upon French diplomacy, General Sebastiani secretly revived the candidature of the duc de Nemours at Brussels. On 3rd February Nemours was chosen and proclaimed by the Belgian Congress amid much enthusiasm. On the 6th, after a debate of three hours, the English Cabinet decided

to declare war on France if she sanctioned this election. The same day a deputation arrived in Paris to ask for Nemours. After much unaccountable delay Louis-Philippe at last brought himself to refuse (17th February). During the course of the King's deliberations yet another rising broke out. The Carlists arranged a mass for the repose of the soul of the murdered duc de Berri at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the parish church of the Tuileries, on 14th February. This was in reality a demonstration in favour of the claims of the duke's son, the infant duc de Bordeaux. A mob attacked the church, causing a great commotion, while others laid siege to and utterly destroyed the archbishop's palace. As usual, the rioters were only got under control after a sanguinary struggle.

Things were anything but flourishing under the new *régime*. "The position of affairs," wrote the duc de Dalberg, a shrewd if somewhat pessimistic observer, "grows worse each day. No payment can be got anywhere. France has never witnessed such a state of affairs since the time of the Directoire. There is no authority anywhere, and intrigue flourishes everywhere. A sovereign who cannot make himself obeyed, a Chamber of Peers without any foundation even in law, a Chamber of Deputies which is perpetually insulted, and which we would like to be rid of, a National Guard becoming more and more disgusted, and which is not allowed to strike when needed, and a regular army which does not know whom to obey."

On 9th March the Laffitte-Sebastiani Cabinet, which had favoured a revolutionary war in the interests of Belgium, finding the King had with-

drawn his support, resigned, and M. Casimir-Périer accepted the Presidency of the Council and the Ministry of the Interior in a Cabinet whose watchword was to be moderation at home and abroad. Sebastiani, an exponent of those very ideas which the Palais Royal (Louis-Philippe was still as yet residing here) favoured, but had not the courage to assert, gained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, much to Talleyrand's disgust.

On 26th June Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, then a resident in London, accepted the crown of Belgium on the understanding that the Belgian territories should be those already determined on by the conference in London. His new subjects, who had all along exhibited a tantalizing fractiousness, were by no means pleased at Leopold's terms. And on 5th August the King of Holland, hoping for Russian support, or perhaps for a quarrel among the other Powers, invaded Belgium, defeating the Belgians at Hasselt and Louvain. His further progress was arrested by the arrival of a French army under Marshal Gérard, the ducs d'Orléans and de Nemours being present. This army having overawed the Dutch, by permission of the conference Talleyrand agreed to its withdrawal, to the mortification of Louis-Philippe and Sebastiani, who were thirsting for military glory. Russia was unable to render any assistance to Holland, being fully occupied with a fresh rising in Poland. The defeat of the Poles occasioned further riots in Paris (September 16-19, 1831). Finally, Belgium's future was settled by a treaty signed by Great Britain, Russia, France, Prussia, and Austria (but not by Holland) on 15th November. The signatories guaranteed its perpetual

independence as a neutral country. "The treaty of November 15, 1831," wrote Louis-Philippe with singular foresight, "will be a great epoch in history." By a further treaty of the four Powers (not France) the fortresses of Ménin, Ath, Mons, Philippeville, and Marienbourg were ordered to be dismantled.

Two events of home politics were of importance in 1831. In April, as a set-off against the pretensions of the Bonapartist party, which had made their voice heard in the July Revolution and since, Casimir-Périer and the King decided to restore the statue of Napoleon upon the top of the Vendôme column. Further, the King and Minister decided upon the abolition of the hereditary peerage. This measure passed the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 343; but it was necessary to create thirty-six new peers before, on 29th December, the Upper House agreed to extinguish their own light.

The year 1832 was, if possible, a more melancholy year than 1830 or 1831. A formidable conspiracy of the Legitimists to kidnap the royal family was discovered by the police, and ended in the arrest of the 110 desperadoes in the rue de Prouvaires on the night of the 1st-2nd February. Towards the end of the same month, at the request of the Pope a French force was landed in the papal territories at Ancona to counterbalance an Austrian invasion of the patrimony of St. Peter. No result was achieved, and, later on, owing to the intense resentment manifested in England and elsewhere, the French occupation was abandoned. On 14th March Casimir-Périer wrote hopefully of affairs. "At no period," he said to Talleyrand, "has our home policy been more solid or better able to withstand attacks than

now." Three weeks later, in company with the duc d'Orléans, he visited the sufferers from the cholera outbreak at the Hôtel Dieu, and fell a victim himself. On 16th May he died, and his middle-class pacifist ministry came to an end. Scarcely was he dead when the funeral of the Radical General Lamarque was made the occasion of fresh rioting in the capital, the product of a combination of Carlists and Republicans (5th-6th June).

Things were in a bad way in this unhappy country, for the duchesse de Berri had landed at Marseilles on 30th April, and made her way into La Vendée, where she roused the Legitimist sympathisers into open rebellion against the July Monarchy. Louis-Philippe, in view of these facts, saw he was in need of decisive personal activity. When, therefore, on the night of 5th June, intelligence reached St. Cloud of the disturbances in Paris, the King immediately returned to the Tuileries, accompanied by his family, and showed himself in every part of the capital. For the time being he acted as President of the Council himself, with the faithful Montalivet as his understudy. On 11th October, after a long delay, a fresh Cabinet was got together, composed, like the last, of doctrinaire Liberals. It was a Cabinet of strong men, numbering de Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers (at the Interior), with Marshal Soult as Minister of War and President of the Council. De Broglie wrote to Talleyrand that it was "composed of all those whom the friends of good order, peace, and legitimately constituted authority count as the staunchest army of its ranks. . . . It depends upon Europe, and above all upon England, to consolidate this Cabinet." Thiers, a disciple of Talleyrand, and possessed of an

overwhelming sense of his own importance, wrote in a similar strain, declaring the Ministers to be "the last supporters of M. Périer's policy." As usual, the King's supporters looked to England to bolster up his unstable throne, England and France being considered the two Liberal monarchies of Europe.

Trouble still persisted in Belgium. On 22nd October a convention was signed in London designed to ~~intimidate~~ Holland and Belgium into submission. Next month an Anglo-French fleet blockaded the mouth of the Scheldt, and put a stop to Dutch commerce; at the same time a French army again entered Belgium and laid siege to Antwerp, which the King of Holland had obstinately refused to surrender. Operations were hindered by bad weather and lack of adequate preparation, but before the year was out Antwerp capitulated (23rd December). But it was not until May 21, 1833, that Holland at last recognized the inevitable, and frankly accepted the Allies' terms. In the meantime (in August) King Leopold had been married to the Princess Louise, daughter of Louis-Philippe, much to the delight of the Orleanists.

The Vendean rebellion proved a failure, and in November 1832 Thiers arrested the duchesse de Berri at Nantes on his own responsibility. This unfortunate and disillusioned woman, secretly married to the comte de Luches-Palli and *enceinte*, was retained in custody at Blaye until after her confinement. With her downfall the Carlists ceased to endanger the monarchy; and doubtless Louis-Philippe breathed a sigh of relief when his rival in the imperial line, the young duc de Reichstadt, son of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, died in Austria (July 22, 1832).

Affairs in Turkey engaged the attention of the Powers early in 1833, consequent on the rout of the Sultan's army by Ibrahim Pasha, the adopted son of Mehemet Ali, at Konieh (December 21, 1832). A race between the French and Russian fleets to the Bosphorus resulted in the French admiral, Roussin, arriving first. Taking upon himself without authorization to adjust affairs in Egypt, Roussin persuaded the Turks to dismiss the Russian fleet. But when it became clear that he was unable to fulfil his self-imposed task, the Sultan recalled the Russians. On 8th May Mehemet Ali and the Sultan came to terms, and on 8th July Russia and Turkey concluded an eight years' offensive and defensive alliance at Unkiar-Skelessi. Talleyrand and de Broglie endeavoured to counterbalance this treaty by an Anglo-French alliance, which the English Cabinet refused.

Renewed disturbances arose in many parts of France in February, March, and April 1834, which Thiers put down with a strong hand. When, on 14th April, a riot broke out at Paris, he led the troops in person. "An excellent little man," Madame Adelaide called him. The elections of May were favourable to the Government. But the duc de Broglie resigned the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in April, when the deputies rejected his treaty indemnifying the United States with £1,000,000 for the depredations of the French navy in the wars of the Empire. In July Guizot and Thiers forced Soult to resign; Marshal Gérard succeeded him, only to be himself replaced by Marshal Maison in November.

Six months later de Broglie became President of the Council. Both the Government and the Monarchy were unpopular. How could it be otherwise

in a country where, in an age of progress, no reforms of any sort were placed upon the statute book? France had no greater liberty than under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. The working classes, despite the immense alterations induced by the application of machinery to every industry, and the improved means of communication by land and sea, were destitute of political power. They saw the government conducted for the sole benefit of the middle classes, who had established the July Monarchy. And as for France herself, the one aim of her statesmen was to enlist the aid of England. The fall of an English Cabinet was to the French Ministry an event almost as disquieting as a fresh revolution at home. In London Talleyrand concluded his ambassadorial labours in the autumn of 1834. His last great diplomatic act was the treaty of April 22, 1834, which bound the two countries to support the women sovereigns of Portugal and Spain, who were desperately striving to overcome the armed resistance of the male claimants to the thrones. England's business was to lend assistance by land; France was, if necessary, to help by land or sea, as mutually agreed upon. Louis-Philippe was by no means sympathetic to the aims of the treaty, and was not a little suspected of partiality for the pretenders. On August 4, 1834, Lord Londonderry in the House of Lords criticized the Anglo-French policy of the Cabinet, and denounced the King of the French. "Louis-Philippe governs," he declared, "on the principle of force; he has filled the provinces and the capital with his troops; his proclamations and his conduct are as arbitrary as those of Charles X., only Louis-Philippe has acted with greater frankness and skill."

In France popular discontent culminated in a fresh and desperate attempt on the King's life as he was proceeding up the boulevard du Temple on July 25, 1835. By exploding a large quantity of gunpowder under the royal procession the assassin Fieschi killed Marshal Mortier and eleven others. Louis-Philippe and his three sons escaped.

On February 22, 1836, Thiers became Prime Minister. Thiers, a small man with an owl-like countenance, was the exponent of a warlike policy, as befitted the author of the histories of the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire. He stood for military glory, and was supposed to be the guardian of the "honour" of France in European politics. But his warlike policy in Spain, and the assembling of a French army at the base of the Pyrenees, aroused the fears of the King, who dismissed him in September, and called upon Count Molé to form a Cabinet with the assistance of M. Guizot. Molé was a mere tool in the hands of the King; and Louis-Philippe, who cherished the ambition of personal government, reigned after his own heart. Hardly was the Ministry in power before a new threat arose to the throne of July. This was occasioned by Prince Napoleon-Louis Bonaparte, the only surviving son of Louis Bonaparte, the ex-King of Holland, and Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine and confidante of the Emperor. This prince, born in 1808, had become on the death of the duc de Reichstadt the heir to the imperial throne.

In the early morning of October 30, 1836, Prince Napoleon-Louis (as he styled himself at this time) was introduced into the Austerlitz barracks at Strasbourg, where his uncle's old regiment—the 4th Regi-

ment of Artillery—was quartered. Holding up the imperial eagle, he appealed dramatically to the assembled soldiers. "It was in your regiment," he exclaimed, "that the Emperor Napoleon, my uncle, served as captain; in your company he made himself illustrious at the siege of Toulon; and yours, again, was the regiment that opened the gates of Grenoble to him on his return from the isle of Elba. Soldiers, there are new destinies reserved for you. Yours is the glory of beginning a great enterprise." Meeting with considerable success, after seizing the general in command and the prefect, the prince proceeded by a narrow lane to the Finkmatt barracks. Here a series of blunders culminated in his arrest, and the adventure, hitherto so successful, came to an abrupt conclusion. Louis-Napoleon was detained a prisoner in Strasbourg until 9th November, when he was sent to Paris. But the Government hesitated to bring him to trial. In face of their own unpopularity, they dared not run the risk of a popular rising on behalf of the prince. Bitter experience had taught them the readiness of the factions in the capital to seize upon every opportunity for hostile demonstrations against the established order, and to give them the chance of demonstrating on behalf of a Napoleon—the Napoleon as he was—was a prospect too full of danger to be entertained. They accepted, therefore, a compromise offered by the prince's friends, and allowed him to set sail for America.

The Napoleonic menace being laid low for the time being, the Molé Government continued on its path of doing nothing. Too strong a man to be a mere index of the mind of the King and Premier,

Guizot abandoned his post in April 1837, and left the two to their own devices. 1837 and 1838 were lean years, and the population seethed with discontent, which was not much affected by the Amnesty Bill of 1838, which set at liberty all political prisoners, nor by the concessions made at the same time to the Church. On January 19, 1839, Guizot and Thiers united in a telling attack upon the King's Speech, and reduced the ministerial majority to thirteen. Parliament was dissolved, and a general election in March returned a hostile majority, which brought about Molé's resignation. For three months it was found impossible to reconstitute a Cabinet. Things were, indeed, almost desperate. During the interregnum the Chambers had met, only to find no speech from the throne and no Ministry. Men were openly asking themselves whether the July Monarchy was not at an end. At last, on 12th May, a body of Socialists under Blanqui attacked the Hôtel de Ville. It was evidently time to put a stop to the national anarchy. Ex-Ministers who had hitherto stood aloof now rallied round Soult, and he at last got together a Government (May 14, 1839).

Soon renewed activity upon the part of Mehemet Ali reopened the Turkish question. Palmerston, on behalf of England, sought to protect the empire of the Turks in Europe. With this end in view he proposed to the Powers a declaration of assent to the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey. The French Government refused to sign when the other Powers agreed (July 29, 1839). After the battle of Nezeb, in which Ibrahim Pasha defeated the Turks, Mehemet Ali was master of Syria as well as Egypt. And, to make matters worse, the Turkish

admiral sent against him treacherously delivered up his squadron to the rebels. In this crisis, on 1st March, 1840, Louis-Philippe again summoned Thiers to the helm as the one statesman who would make a bold stand for France. Thiers, espousing the cause of Mehemet Ali, deliberately played for time, in the belief that the Sultan would be unable to resist the rebellious provinces, and would be obliged to come to terms—a victory for French diplomacy. Palmerston immediately entered into fresh negotiations with Nicholas I. without consulting the French, and on July 15, 1840, concluded with Russia and the other Powers a treaty guaranteeing Syria to the Turks. Two days later he sent for Guizot, lately become ambassador in London, and communicated the terms of the treaty. The French were furious at this settlement, and Thiers was bent on a war with England. King Leopold, on a visit to his father-in-law in Paris at the time, wrote to Queen Victoria that “the secret way in which the arrangement about the Turco-Egyptian affairs has been signed, the keeping out of France in an affair so near it, and touching its interests in various ways, has had here a very disastrous effect.” But Louis-Philippe, convinced that England was the only strength of his throne, dared not proceed to extremes. Thiers was dismissed, and Soult reinstated (September 6, 1840). Guizot, recalled from London, was established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and became the real head of the Government, though he was not actually made President of the Council until the retirement of the marshal in 1847.

In the midst of all these difficulties, Prince Louis-Napoleon, who had returned to London after the

death of his mother in 1837, thought the time ripe for a fresh exhibition of his pretensions. For the last two years he had lived in a magnificent mansion in Carlton Terrace on the money left him by Queen Hortense. To make himself conspicuous, he adopted the style of an emperor, used the imperial eagle on his coach, and moved about with equerries in constant attendance. Further, he had developed his literary activities. Of his earlier writings, his *Manual of Artillery* was the best known; but in 1839 he composed the *Idées Napoléoniennes*, by far the most popular of all his works. This manifesto, sold in hundreds of thousands for half a franc each, was a glorification of the social and political system introduced by the Emperor, and a highly unfavourable comparison with the sterile rule of the post-Waterloo monarchy. In short, it was a popular appeal for the restoration of the Empire, and, by inference, the establishment of Prince Louis-Napoleon upon the throne of the Tuileries. Altogether, considering his social eminence in London, his literary achievements, and the fact that in 1838 Molé's Cabinet had forced on his expulsion from Switzerland by threat of war, the prince was a very much more dangerous person to Louis-Philippe than at Strasbourg in 1836. Not only that, but, under the inspiration of Thiers, the French Government had themselves done their very best to help his pretensions by continuing their policy of belauding the great Emperor. As a sequel to the replacing of Napoleon's statue on the Vendôme column, in 1840 they requested permission of the English Government to remove the bones of Napoleon from St. Helena. When they asked the deputies for a credit of a million francs for this purpose, the Chamber

promptly showed its concurrence by doubling the amount (May 26, 1840).

With the attention of France centred upon the Emperor, Louis-Napoleon seized his opportunity. On 6th August, at the head of a small band of fifty-six followers, he landed from the *Edinburgh Castle* on the coast at Wimereux, near Boulogne. After an early morning march to Boulogne the party, disguised as French soldiers, with the imperial eagle at their head, appeared in the barracks of the 42nd Regiment. But, omitting to silence the officials encountered on the road, Louis-Napoleon was no sooner arrived here than Captain Col-Puyg  lier got wind of the matter, rushed to the barracks, and reduced his men to obedience before they had a chance of comprehending the prince's scheme.

Foiled in their plan, the insurrectionists retreated into the upper town unmolested. Every moment it became more clear that there was no chance of success. One by one the sham soldiers, hired at a small fee in England, deserted the eagle, and finally the prince and his immediate attendants were arrested in a small boat just off the shore, but not before some of their number had been killed and others, including Louis-Napoleon himself, wounded by the zeal of the National Guard. Two days later the prince was removed from Boulogne Castle to the Forteresse at Ham, the state prison, which had recently been the home of Polignac, distant about a hundred miles. From there he was passed on to the Conciergerie at Paris, where, with singular want of generosity, the Government shut him up in the very cell that had accommodated the assassin Fieschi.

Afraid to bring him to trial before a jury, which

had triumphantly acquitted his Strasbourg confederates, Louis-Philippe's Government resolved to arraign Prince Louis-Napoleon before the court of Peers. On 28th September the proceedings began. Accepting the entire responsibility for the exploit, the prince boldly proclaimed that had he succeeded he would have summoned a congress in France to decide upon a form of government which would free the country from the oppression of the July Monarchy. He made no attempt to hide his guilt, and quietly defied his enemies. "Gentlemen," he exclaimed, "I stand before you the representative of a principle, a cause, a defeat. The principle is the sovereignty of the people; the cause is the cause of the Empire; the defeat Waterloo. I can expect no justice, and I will accept no generosity at your hands." Despite an eloquent defence by his counsel, M. Berryer, the great Legitimist lawyer, who contrasted the policy of the Government in their treatment of the Emperor's bones with their treatment of his living representative, the peers condemned Louis-Napoleon to perpetual imprisonment, his followers to varying terms of imprisonment. On 7th October, the very day the prince de Joinville sailed from St. Helena with Napoleon's remains, the prince was deposited at Ham, that gloomy mediæval stronghold poisoned by the damp mists of the murky river Somme. The final stage in the fortunes of the imperial family that year was reached on 15th December, when, on a cold and frosty day, with a temperature of 14° below freezing point, the ashes of the great Emperor were transported to their last resting-place in the chapel of the Invalides. "When silence and the night again took possession of the city," wrote M.

Legouvé, "there were two kings of France in Paris, one at the Tuileries, the other at the Invalides."

These events of 1840 were concluded when, on 10th October, the English, Turkish, and Austrian fleets bombarded and captured Beyrout, and an allied army forced Mehemet Ali into submission (25th November). With the accession of M. Guizot to power the first half of Louis-Philippe's reign ended. Fifteen ministries in ten years had clearly shown that the prospect of achieving the political and social reforms adumbrated in the July Revolution had vanished. The remaining seven and a half years of the reign were a time of persistent repression. Guizot's administration differed from the preceding ones in this, that whereas, in the first period, men had always hoped for reform and had not got it, in the second period they no longer hoped. At heart Guizot was a moderate Liberal; for his attempts to influence Louis XVIII. in this direction during the Hundred Days he had gained the nickname of the "Man of Ghent"; he had done useful work in the furtherance of education; but once in power, he gave up in despair the attempt to combine popular ambitions with the institutions of the July Monarchy. A stern Calvinist and the son of a victim of the Terror, he now lent all his influence to the weak throne of Louis-Philippe. The electors, barely 200,000 in number, were propitiated by legislation favourable to their interests. In the Chamber itself deputies were held firm in allegiance to the Government by the distribution of places, pensions, and honours. Half of them were place-men bought over by Guizot. As far as the Government were concerned, it seemed as if they were unaware of the very existence of the labouring classes.

In the summer of 1842 a great disaster befell the King. On 13th July the duc d'Orléans was proceeding towards the porte Maillot when his horses bolted. Taken unawares, he jumped out, and in so doing fell on his head. The King and Queen were quickly in attendance, but their heir never regained consciousness, and died the same afternoon. A grave political crisis thereupon followed which shook the monarchy to its very depths. The heir to the throne being now a child, it was necessary to provide for a regency in the event of Louis-Philippe's death. Did the appointment belong to the King or the Chamber? Did the Charter date from 1814 or 1830? Was the Salic Law still in force? After prolonged debates in the Chamber, the Centre party coalesced with the Right in favour of the appointment of the duc de Nemours, who was considered free from the taint of Liberalism (August 30, 1842).

Guizot, like Talleyrand, based his foreign policy upon friendship with England; but he had an intense distrust of Lord Palmerston, who, fortunately for him, went out of office in 1841. Under Lord Aberdeen's administration of the Foreign Office, however, the *entente cordiale* was re-established, and in September 1844 Queen Victoria, who had declined a visit from Louis-Philippe in 1839, visited the King of the French at the château d'Eu. The visit was returned in the following year, the first occasion a French monarch had ever come upon a friendly journey to England. Earlier in this year, 1844, the Czar Nicholas I. also came to England. The Queen wrote a remarkable description of him: "A very striking man, still very handsome; his profile is beautiful, and his manners most dignified and graceful. Really, it seems

like a dream that we breakfast and walk out with this greatest of earthly potentates as quietly as if we walked with any one." But the Czar's visit was destined to have very important political results for France and England. It was on this occasion that he proposed to Lord Aberdeen a scheme for the partition of the Turkish Empire. Convinced that the end was near, he suggested that England and Russia, as the two Powers chiefly interested, should avoid diplomatic rivalry in Constantinople, and decide upon a scheme of partition to be carried out at the first opportunity. Neither Sir Robert Peel nor Lord Aberdeen nor the Duke of Wellington, who were all brought into the conversation, betrayed any anxiety to deal with the problem of Turkey until its end was actually come. As a final step the Czar deposited a statement of his views at the Foreign Office. "In the uncertainty which hovers over the future," ran the document, "a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application. It is, that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common. That understanding will be the more beneficial inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria. Between her and Russia there exists already an entire accord." France was by no means pleased at the Emperor Nicholas's appearance in England, and much irritation was caused in England by an unfortunate pamphlet of the prince de Joinville recommending a strengthening of the French navy. A dispute about the right of search of vessels, and another over the French occupation of Tahiti,

threatened also to endanger the traditional good feeling between the two countries. All these affairs righted themselves by the time of Louis-Philippe's arrival at Windsor in September, when he expressed to the Queen the wish that Tahiti was "au fond de la mer." As usual, the outstanding impression made upon his hosts was the solidarity and extreme affection existing between the members of the French royal family—"this admirable and truly amiable family."

With a subservient Chamber and electorate things went on pretty much the same in France in 1845. But in 1846 Sir Robert Peel's Ministry fell, and Lord Palmerston went back to the Foreign Office. The consequences of this proceeding were reflected in France immediately. Guizot instantly broke up the *entente cordiale*. Unable to restrain his suspicions of Palmerston's diplomacy, he endeavoured to forestall him by a bold stroke of policy. The occasion he selected was the approaching marriage of the young Queen Isabella of Spain, who had succeeded her worthless father, Ferdinand VII., in 1833, as a child of three. The Queen being now of marriageable age, politicians began to be exercised over her choice of a husband. As early as 1841 the subject had figured in correspondence between Queen Victoria and Lord Aberdeen. To prevent a union of the crowns of France and Spain was the one object of English diplomacy. With this exception England wished to place no hindrances to the free choice of the young Queen. But the Queen-Mother of Spain and Louis-Philippe desired a French prince, while Queen Victoria and Prince Albert favoured Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. At the visit to the château d'Eu in 1843

Louis-Philippe spontaneously promised that no son of his should marry Queen Isabella, and that in no case should his youngest son, the duc de Montpensier, enter upon his projected marriage with her sister until the Queen should be married and a mother. No sooner had the Peel administration ended and Palmerston returned to his post as Foreign Secretary (July 5, 1846), than Guizot sought to circumvent him. On 18th July Palmerston unwisely showed a dispatch of his for Madrid to the French Ambassador in London. In this dispatch was mentioned the name of Prince Leopold. That was the opportunity the French Premier wanted. Forthwith he secretly engineered a fresh plan. On August 29, 1846, the *Madrid Gazette* announced that the Queen of Spain was about to marry her cousin, Don Francisco de Asis, Duke of Cadiz, and that at the same time Montpensier would marry her sister the Infanta. Not only was this a breach of faith upon the part of the French King, but the plan was of diabolical cunning, inasmuch as its authors accounted it a physical impossibility for Don Francisco and Isabella to have children. No remonstrances at Paris produced the least effect. "A private affair between myself and the English Secretary, Lord Palmerston," was Louis-Philippe's naïve description of the transaction. The double marriage took place on 10th October. Its promoters' aims were falsified. Isabella had children. Montpensier's children never came to the throne of Spain. All that Guizot's diplomacy achieved was the loss of English good will and the break-up of the *entente cordiale*.

Out of Parliament opposition to the inactivity of the Ministry had been steadily growing. The prin-

ciples of Socialism, under the influence of Louis Blanc and others, had made much headway among the working classes. On the other hand, the romanticists, inspired by Chateaubriand, Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, had infused a new spirit into the Gallican Church. University education had already been handed over to the Church, and the suppressed religious orders allowed back. Lacordaire had publicly adopted the Dominican habit, and was preaching to crowds such as had never been seen at Notre Dame. All that the Church now needed was the control of primary education. During 1847 the opposition deputies inaugurated a series of Reform banquets throughout the country. At Mâcon, for example, no less than six thousand persons assembled to celebrate the completion of Alphonse de Lamartine's *History of the Girondists*. Parliamentary reform was incessantly urged on these occasions, the toast of the July Revolution was drunk, and the toast of the King omitted. Nevertheless no one, not even the promoters themselves, regarded these demonstrations as dangerous to the Monarchy or the dynasty. What republicans there were were very few in number; the aim of the banquets was the extension of the franchise, the abolition of political corruption, and the furtherance of constitutional government. No anxiety was betrayed by the Government, secure in their parliamentary majority.

Of more danger to the throne was a terrible murder on 18th August. The duchesse de Praslin was discovered by her servants dying and horribly mutilated. Suspicion at once fell upon her husband, chamberlain to the Duchess of Orleans; he was arrested and imprisoned in the Luxembourg, where

he succeeded in poisoning himself. Shortly afterwards comte Alfred de Montesquieu, gentleman of honour to the Queen, committed suicide; and on 2nd November Count Bresson, who, as ambassador at Madrid, had engineered the Spanish marriages, cut his throat with a razor. These events, following one another in rapid succession, terrified the Court, dismayed the country, and horrified Europe.

On the 29th December Louis-Philippe addressed the Chambers for the last time. In his speech he lamented "the agitation that hostile and blind passions foment," and declared that "the constitutional monarchy possesses sure means of overcoming all the obstacles and of satisfying all interests, moral and material." It was evident no concessions were to be expected from the Government, and the organisers of the banquets took the speech as a bold defiance.

Before the year went out one last sorrow befell the aged King. His sister, Madame Adelaide, the most trusted of all his advisers, died (31st December).

VII.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

THE debate upon the address was destined to be the alarm signal of the revolution. In every part of the Chamber attacks were made upon the iniquities of the Government. De Tocqueville taunted Guizot and his colleagues with their failures at home. "Keep the laws, if you choose," was his contemptuous declaration, "although I think you would be very wrong to do so. Keep them, keep the men too, if that pleases you; but, for God's sake, change the spirit of the Government, for I repeat to you that spirit will drag you to the abyss." Alphonse de Lamartine was no less emphatic upon their failure abroad. "Ever since the Spanish marriages," he exclaimed, "France, in direct contradiction to her nature and to centuries of tradition, has had to become Ghibelline in Rome, sacerdotal in Berne, Austrian in Piedmont, Russian in Cracovia, French nowhere, anti-revolutionary everywhere." When at last a division was called, the address was carried by 213 votes to 3, the entire Left refusing to vote at all. On 14th February the Chambers attended at the Tuileries for the presentation of the address. Louis-Philippe received them with calm optimism.

But the day before, the Opposition deputies,

meeting at the Durand *café* in the place de la Madeleine, had assembled to consider their position. Marie's proposal for immediate resignation was set aside in favour of a plan for the organization of an immense reform banquet in Paris. On 19th February the deputies reassembled. All the chief leaders of the Opposition were present—Liberals such as Odilon Barrot and Lamartine, Legitimists like Berryer and de Falloux. Under the influence of Lamartine's inflammatory rhetoric, measures were taken to organize the banquet for 22nd February; place, an empty house at Chaillot, near the Arc de l'Étoile. De Falloux and Thiers walked away together. Thiers expressed great confidence in the success of the demonstration, and equal confidence in the stability of the throne. "The Restoration," he said, "died of nothing but stupidity, and I warrant you we shall not die as it did. The National Guard is going to give Guizot a good lesson. The King will surrender in time." No one, in fact, discerned the least danger to the throne. The end in view was the dissolution of a Ministry, not the overturning of a monarchy.

So confident were the Government of their ability to withstand the shock, that they amicably appointed two commissioners, MM. de Morny and Vitet, to treat with the promoters of the banquet. It was arranged to test the legality of the banquet before the *Cour de Cassation*; and for this reason, after the guests had assembled at Chaillot, the police would enter the banquet, M. Odilon Barrot would protest against the invasion, and then the meeting would quietly disperse. Not only this, but the Opposition deputies bound themselves to use their influence to restrain the outbursts of their newspapers. On 20th

February the Cabinet confirmed this agreement, and allowed the banquet to go forward. The King was equally content.

But a sub-committee appointed to arrange the details of the banquet, under the influence of M. Armand Marrast, editor of the *National*, drew up that same day, and published on the 21st, a programme of the proceedings which upset the prevailing concord. This programme, never submitted in detail to M. Odilon Barrot, "changed the banquet into an insurrection." A huge crowd of peers, deputies, National Guards, and working-men sympathisers was requested to assemble in the place de la Madeleine on the morning of the 22nd, and march across the place de la Concorde, up the Champs Elysées to the banqueting hall. In face of this great demonstration the Cabinet felt themselves compelled to act. Considering the original agreement no longer binding in the altered circumstances, they decided to prohibit the banquet. M. Delessert issued the necessary prohibition from the Ministry of Police; General Jacquemont forbade the National Guards to take part in a political demonstration; M. Duchâtel defended the action of the Government in the Chamber. At 5 p.m. the Opposition deputies assembled at the house of M. Odilon Barrot. Marrast and Thiers advised the abandonment of the banquet. Lamartine strove, in language which he afterwards regretted, to save it. "I will go," he declared, "if I am accompanied by nothing but my shadow." But it was no good. By fifty votes to seventeen the deputies decided to abide by the Cabinet's decision. Two hours later the journalists threshed out the same question at the *Réforme* office. Marrast would have

carried on, but he was warmly opposed by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, both bitter opponents of the dynasty. "You will decide for insurrection if you choose," declared Louis Blanc; "but if you do come to that decision, I shall go back home to put on mourning and weep for the ruin of the democracy." Here also the banquet was abandoned.

Up till this point there was absolutely no indication that there was anything amiss. Insurrections were not unknown to the Ministers of the July Monarchy. Should there be rioting now, every one—King, Premier, Cabinet, Opposition—was convinced that the Government would easily stamp it out. On the 22nd nothing much happened. Uncertain whether the demonstration was still to be held, a crowd of five or six thousand people assembled at the Panthéon at ten, and marched towards the appointed rendezvous. Finding the programme abandoned, these, about half-past eleven, crowded round the Palais Bourbon, but were easily persuaded to disperse. Within the Chamber Odilon Barrot, supported by fifty-two deputies, gave notice of a vote of censure on the Government, which was fixed for discussion on the 24th. A few barricades sprung up here and there in the streets, and occasionally the military found themselves pelted with stones, but no difficulty was experienced in suppressing these disturbances. Late in the afternoon, as a measure of precaution, the Government decided to call out the National Guard. Promptly the *rappel* was beaten. Convinced that there was no danger, the conservative Guards remained quietly at home: their inaction was destined to ruin the monarchy. As it was, the greater number of Guards who assembled were

strongly sympathetic towards the cause of reform, and bitterly hostile to the Government. At nightfall troops were stationed in various quarters of the town. Calm and confident, Guizot dined quietly with his colleagues at the Ministry of Finances.

Next morning things looked blacker. About nine riots arose in the rue du Temple and rue Montmartre. Thereupon the twelve legions of National Guards were distributed throughout the city as an assistance to the troops. It was a fatal move. Under the very windows of the Tuileries the citizen soldiers as they passed cried aloud for reform, and vehemently denounced Guizot. When Count Duchâtel, as Minister of the Interior, communicated the state of the city to the King, Louis-Philippe hinted at the resignation of Guizot. At half-past two M. Guizot arrived, and placed his resignation in the King's hands. Again the authorities failed to comprehend the seriousness of their situation. Instead of one of the Opposition leaders, who alone could exert influence over the masses at this critical time, the King summoned Count Molé. In this decision even Guizot and Duchâtel concurred. At a quarter-past three Guizot announced to the Chamber that M. Molé had been summoned to form a ministry. His complacent supporters, anxious for their own interests, were thunderstruck. "A pack of dogs torn away from their quarry with their chops still full," commented M. de Tocqueville.

That night, resentful against the King, perhaps, but without the least apprehension, Guizot dined at the Ministry of the Interior with Duchâtel. Outside, Paris was everywhere restless and uneasy. Illuminations sprang up on the boulevards in cele-

bration of the change of Ministry. Soon after nine a mob attended outside the Ministry of Justice in the Place Vendôme, and called upon the officials to illuminate. Knowing that a couple of hundred yards away were a battalion of the line and another of the National Guard defending M. Guizot's *hôtel* at the corner of the rue Neuve des Capucines and the boulevard des Capucines, these hard-pressed officials summoned help. In answer the National Guards were dispatched. This brought the mob upon the boulevard into immediate contact with the regular troops. A scuffle ensued, the military fired, and fifty-two of the crowd were killed or wounded. Taking up the sixteen corpses, their companions placed them upon a luggage-cart and dragged this hideous burden through the streets to arouse the indignation of their comrades. Instantly he received this news, Guizot repaired to the Tuileries, and demanded the installation of Marshal Bugeaud in the command both of the army and the National Guard. At the same hour M. Molé announced his failure to get together a government. Confronted by these new dangers, Louis-Philippe summoned M. Thiers, and acceded to Guizot's request. Thiers arrived at the Tuileries at half-past two in the morning. After he had received the King's command he went off to get together a ministry. At 7.30 a.m. he returned successful.

Bugeaud spent the night planning the disposition of his forces. At daybreak he set his troops on the march in four divisions. The first division was ordered to the Hôtel de Ville, the second to the Bastille, the third to support these forces, breaking up the barricades erected in their rear; the fourth division was directed to the Panthéon. But General

Bedeau, in command of the second division, found himself held up by the people in the Boulevard Bonnes Nouvelles. Halting, and hesitating to open fire, he wrote to the marshal for fresh instructions. Confronted by the popular commotion, Bugeaud's determination had now weakened. He therefore desired the general to retreat on the place du Carrousel. In point of fact, he never got farther than the place de la Concorde. The King now entrusted the command of the National Guard to General de Lamoricière.

While these changes were being made, Thiers and his colleagues remained at the Tuileries. At 9.30 Odilon Barrot set out thence on a mission of pacification. On the boulevards he found the troops fraternizing with the people, and the situation everywhere more dangerous. Arrived at the porte St. Denis, he found his way barred, and returned in dejection. At half-past ten Louis-Philippe was at breakfast with his family. The intelligence of Bedeau's retreat came to hand, and determined the King on one last desperate venture. Outside the palace were a huge body of National Guards, as well as four thousand regular troops. Everything depended on the attitude of the National Guard. Hastily donning his uniform, he mounted a horse and reviewed them on the place du Carrousel. Their sullen attitude, their disloyal exclamations, persuaded him that no reliance could be placed upon their support. He returned indoors dejectedly.

Divided counsels prevailed at the Tuileries. M. Crémieux proposed an Odilon Barrot Cabinet. Thiers accepted dismissal. Crémieux then proposed Bugeaud should be replaced by Marshal Gérard. At this



LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

(After the drawing by Eugene Lami.)

moment M. Emile de Girardin, editor of the *Figaro*, rushed in and, in face of the growing tumult, urged the King to abdicate in favour of the duchesse d'Orléans's son, the young comte de Paris. At the same time he placed before the King a placard hastily printed :—

“ ABDICATION OF THE KING.

✓ “ REGENCY OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

“ DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER.

“ GENERAL AMNESTY.”

Only the day before Louis-Philippe had declared he would rather abdicate than change his Ministers or dissolve the Chamber. Now the Ministry was already gone. The dissolution of the Chamber was half promised to Thiers. Shots were being fired outside the palace, and the King was called upon to face abdication in deadly earnest. Montpensier added his entreaties to those of Girardin. The Queen and the duchesse d'Orléans, on the other hand, opposed the abdication with all their might. Torn between two opinions, Louis-Philippe at last made up his mind. “ I am a pacific sovereign,” he said. “ Since all defence is impossible, I will not shed French blood uselessly. I abdicate.” Taking a sheet of paper, the King slowly and firmly wrote out his own dismissal. It was just past noon; the day, February 24, 1848. About half an hour later Louis-Philippe with his family left the Tuileries; “ these melancholy, detestable Tuileries . . . this dreary palace, the most detestable in the world,” Madame Adelaide had written the day the King moved in—sharing the fate of Louis XVI., Napoleon, Louis XVIII., and Charles X., the last four rulers of the Tuileries, all of whom had met with miserable misfortunes.

Arrived at the place de la Concorde, on the very spot where Louis XVI. was guillotined and Louis-Philippe's own father suffered the same fate, the royal party awaited conveyances. Two berlines ordered for their accommodation were being burned at that moment by the mob. Eventually they were rescued by three small carriages laid hold of by the duc de Nemours. Guarded by a troop of cavalry and some National Guards commanded by the faithful Montalivet, they drove along the quays to St. Cloud. Here the military were dismissed; but the royal fugitives, not daring to wait, drove on in two hired omnibuses to the Grand Trianon at Versailles. Not feeling safe even here, they continued their way to Dreux, where was situate the mausoleum of the Orléans family. Arrived at Dreux at 11 p.m., the ex-king, weary and despondent, went to bed. He was awakened next morning to hear awful news. The populace had invaded and sacked the Tuileries and the Palais Royal; the royal throne had been carried off and contemptuously burned at the foot of the July column in the place de la Bastille; the duchesse d'Orléans had taken refuge at the Palais Bourbon; the Chamber of Deputies had been invaded, the sitting broken up; the Republic had been proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville. Up till this moment the King, who had not concealed his identity, had expected to end his days in quiet retirement at the Château d'Eu. He now saw himself and his dynasty cast off. The only thing left was an immediate flight to the coast and a passage by the first ship for England.

Making their way by tortuous by-roads, Louis-Philippe and Marie-Amélie arrived at the residence

of M. de Perthuis at Honfleur about daybreak on the 26th, after a wild and stormy night. So rough was the weather that the passage boat from Havre to Honfleur dared not cross. The next day confidential agents of the King approached Captain Paul of the Southampton steam-packet *Express*; but, in the absence of orders from his superiors, the captain declined to undertake extraordinary manœuvres. An attempt was now made to engage a fishing-boat to transport the King alone, and for this purpose he went to Trouville on the 28th. But it was impossible to get away in such a heavy sea. Afraid of detection, Louis-Philippe, unaware that the provisional government wished to render him all assistance, left M. Victor Barbel's house on the night of 1st-2nd March, and rejoined the Queen at Honfleur. Shortly afterwards Mr. Jones, the English vice-consul at Havre, approached the house, and announced that he had orders to assist their majesties.

Upon his return to Southampton Captain Paul had reported the King's predicament to the Admiralty. Lord Palmerston immediately sent instructions to all the consuls at the northern ports of France to assist the King. The *Express* was back again at Havre. Thus means of escape were now available. That evening the King and Queen crossed separately to Havre and boarded the steamer. Mr. Featherstonhaugh, the English consul, met the Honfleur boat at the quay and guided the King to the *Express*. An interesting report written by him was submitted to Queen Victoria: "At last came the King, disguised, his whiskers shaved off, a sort of casquette on his head, and a coarse overcoat, and immense goggles over his eyes. Not being able to see well, he

stumbled, when I advanced, took his hand, and said, 'Ah, dear uncle, I am delighted to see you;' upon which he answered, 'My dear George, I am glad you are here.' The English about me now opened the crowd for their consul, and I moved off to a quiet and shaded part of the quay. But my dear uncle talked so loud and so much that I had the greatest difficulty to make him keep silence. At length we reached the steamer." Next morning the King and Queen reached Newhaven, and proceeded to Claremont, placed at their disposal by the King of the Belgians (3rd March).

So this was the end of the July Monarchy. The Duke of Orleans, after seventeen and a half years of uneasy rule, was a wanderer, destined to draw his last breath in exile on a foreign shore. What had brought this about? The sterility of his rule. Called to a throne, though destitute of hereditary right, by Charles's violation of the Charter, he maintained a steadfast loyalty to its provisions. But this was not enough. A Government is required to be dynamic, not static. It was Louis-Philippe's misfortune that he, a man of vast experience, was neither a prophet nor a seer. To him cleverness was a sufficient protection against faction. An adroit move, a skilful evasion, he considered the best answer to political unrest. Benjamin Disraeli tells us, after a visit to the King, that he "despised his people," and had said to him: "The way to manage these people is to give them their head, and then know when to pull them up." That is a poor confession from a "popular" sovereign, but it is none the less a true one. Fidelity to the meagre liberalism of the Charter was an insufficient instrument for governing a great

nation, and at such a time. In an age of progress and development unparalleled in modern history Louis-Philippe and his governments, one after another, failed to read the signs of the times or to appreciate the spirit of the age. France was in labour for reform, and over and over again her offspring proved still-born. This crime must be laid at Louis-Philippe's door. In his reign political institutions were corrupted, national ambitions repressed, and freedom became a delusion. At the revolution of July men called the duke to the throne because they conceived him to possess a large mind. At the revolution of February men sent him away because they knew him to possess a small mind. Not that the King was consciously insincere or reactionary. But France, having parted with a republic, an empire, and her ancient royal house, stood in need of a commanding genius; and Louis-Philippe's abilities belonged to the order of the commonplace.

Upon the flight of the King France entered upon a period of wild anarchy. Comparatively, the Revolution of February was effected with small loss of life. The casualties were infinitely less than in 1830. On the other hand, the people were more clamorous and demonstrative. The masses had long felt that their part in the break-up of the Restoration was ill appreciated by the July Monarchy—1830 was essentially a revolution of the middle classes; 1848 was a revolution of the lower classes. Once they had encompassed the King's fall, the people showed they had no intention of letting the fruits of victory escape their grasp. Two factors made their way easier: in this revolution there was neither Orleans nor Lafayette.

One figure towers above all others in the February revolution. It is the figure of Lamartine. At this time he was fifty-five years of age. On his father's side he inherited Royalist sympathies, on his mother's side Orleanist. Under the Restoration he first held a small post about the Court, and afterwards became attached to the embassies at Florence and Naples, where he married, like so many other Frenchmen of his day, an English wife. After the overthrow of Charles X. he willingly espoused the new order of things. At this time he abandoned diplomacy, and, after failing to secure election at Toulon and Marseilles, politics also. In 1832 he set out to travel in the East. At Jerusalem he learnt of his election to the Chamber as *député* for the Nord. Returning home, he ascended the tribune for the first time in November 1833, and numbered himself among the adherents of Guizot. His fame as a poet, since the publication of his first work, *Méditations*, in 1820, had already put him in the front rank of literary men, and in 1830 had secured him election to the Academy. Upon the death of Chateaubriand he became the acknowledged head of French literary art. To his poems he added a series of works on the more recent history of France; his *History of the Girondists*, though shallow and inaccurate, gained him enormous popularity. Re-elected for Mâcon, he continued in the Chamber, gradually becoming the leader of the *Parti Social*, and in corresponding measure separating from Guizot. Possessed of the gift of expressing himself as well in speech as with the pen, his eloquence raised him to a commanding position in the Chamber and the country. But his oratory was a snare: it overpowered men

rather by the richness of language and smoothness of diction than by originality of ideas. Lamartine was rather a special pleader than a statesman. He was moved by emotion rather than by intellect.

On the morning of 24th February Lamartine was informed that an attack upon the Palais Bourbon was imminent. Proceeding there at once, he found himself in the midst of a group of journalists, belonging to the *National*, who were debating whether they dared proclaim the Republic. They asked his attitude. In the uncertainty of affairs Lamartine refused to bind himself. "If royalty falls of itself," was his answer, "I will not attempt to raise it; I will give my adhesion to none but a complete movement—that is, to a republic." Odilon Barrot similarly declined to be bound. When the sitting opened, M. Laffitte proposed that the deputies should sit *en permanence*. Scarcely was his motion carried when the duchesse d'Orléans arrived and sought refuge with the Chamber; she brought her two sons, Paris and Chartres, with her. The royal party were hardly seated beneath the tribune before a mob forced their way in. Amidst this scene of commotion M. Marie proposed an adjournment. General Oudinot besought the deputies to study the wishes of the duchess. M. Marie then pointed out that the only regency allowed by the law was that of the duc de Nemours; the petition on behalf of the duchess's regency was, therefore, out of order. He proposed the establishment of a provisional government. Crémieux supported him. Odilon Barrot pleaded for the duchess. Next M. de La Rochejaquelein, a pronounced Legitimist, rose and exclaimed "that the Chamber no longer existed." He was still speaking

when a second and larger crowd burst into the Chamber. Wild uproar ensued. M. Langrange, holding up the paper containing Louis-Philippe's abdication, loudly called for a republic. Ledru-Rollin, the only avowed republican in the Chamber, added his entreaties. Then Lamartine ascended the tribune and supported the motion. A provisional government would, he said, bring about a cessation of hostilities, and convoke the electoral colleges to establish a new order by universal suffrage. At this point a third and final invasion of the Chamber took place. President Sauzet rose and put on his hat. The sitting was at an end. Friends escorted the duchess from the Chamber; she went first to the Invalides, afterwards to Lille, and finally succeeded in crossing the Rhine. That was the end of the regency.

With the sitting abruptly concluded, the populace organized an informal debate. In this fearful confusion no one knew what to expect. Wild-eyed men threatened the retiring President and Lamartine. After order had been in some part restored, the aged Dupont de l'Eure was voted into the chair by acclamation. Loud cries for the Republic arose on every side. The names of the provisional government were demanded. At last Dupont received and read out the list. It consisted of Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, and himself. These names were hailed with enthusiasm. "Dupont de l'Eure," wrote Lamartine in his *History of the Revolution of 1848*, "represented public virtue; Lamartine, the fraternization of classes in a democracy; Arago, the glory of intellectual power; Garnier-Pagès, hereditary esteem and popular gratitude paid to a tomb; Marie, stern authority, combined

with moderation ; Ledru-Rollin, the impetuosity, the enthusiasm, and perhaps the excess of republicanism ; Crémieux, the power of debate suited to every purpose, and liberty of conscience embodied in the government." High praise indeed for a body of politicians destined to make themselves ridiculous.

But these seven men, appointed by a method so rough and ready, were not destined to have a clear field. They were elected, indeed, by a disorganized rabble of Opposition deputies and malcontents ; yet they were representative rather of the classes than of the masses. At the very moment of their irregular elevation into the chief offices of state another body of men were at work at the Hôtel de Ville. In this traditional home of faction, the very temple of the common people, journalists of the *Réforme*—Louis Blanc, Albert, Martin, Flocon—were busy organizing a revolution and a republic on the lines of 1792, with a Committee of Public Safety and a revolutionary mayor of Paris. When, therefore, Lamartine and his colleagues marched along the quays and across the Pont Neuf to the Hôtel de Ville, they found a faction installed in office, and an immense crowd gathered in the place de Grève below. With great difficulty the members of the Provisional Government secured entrance. When at last they did so they proceeded to the formation of a Cabinet. Lamartine received the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ; Ledru-Rollin, the Interior ; Bethmont, Commerce and Agriculture ; Crémieux, Justice ; Marie, Public Works ; Arago, Marine ; General Subervi, War ; Goudchaux, Finance ; Carnot, Public Instruction and Worship. By the appointment of Marrast, Flocon, Pagnerre, and Louis Blanc as secretaries of the Provisional Government all danger

of collision with the partisans of the *Réforme* was obviated.

These were the men who were to rule France for two months. They formed a coalition of Opposition deputies and Radical journalists. But they had not placated the people, nor did they ever succeed in doing so. Louis-Philippe's long years of repression had culminated at last in his overthrow. Intoxicated by their own success, vast masses of the Parisian lower orders, determined to come into their rights at last, besieged the Hôtel de Ville, clamouring for relief. Indeed, the history of the Provisional Government is the history of the desperate attempts of the Ministers to appease the fury of the mob. Time after time Lamartine and his colleagues found themselves besieged in the Hôtel de Ville by an angry multitude. Time after time Lamartine, assisted by Louis Blanc, descended to the street and harangued the crowd with his sophisticated eloquence. So great was his power of conciliation and persuasion that as long as he spoke his audience listened spellbound; it was only after they had returned home in quiet that they realized he had outwitted them. They were back, therefore, the next day, and the whole thing had to be gone through again. The monarchy had been to some extent a protection for Louis-Philippe against extravagant concessions demanded of him; a monarch, and even a citizen monarch, is possessed of some rights, and there are some demands he could never admit. With a republic it was different. It was a government by the people; and those classes who consider "the people" to mean exclusively themselves, loudly clamoured for the establishment of every kind of political, social, and financial heresy.

Memories of 1792 still survived—an inspiration to the multitude and a terror to the Government.

To the accompaniment of half-savage cries, shouts, tumults outside, Lamartine's Government sat at the Hôtel de Ville on the night of the fateful 24th February. Proclamations were issued to the people and to the army. The people were promised an election for the ratification of the Republic. The army were exhorted "to swear fidelity to the people," and "all would be forgotten save their courage and their discipline." This pointed reference to their military exploits in the recent disturbances was hardly calculated to win cordial adhesion to the new order; the soldiers were to be made the scapegoats of the revolution. It was a strange council. Every few minutes Ministers were obliged to defend the door against an invasion, or to harangue the people; and when the tumult was over, to return "amidst acclamations which deafened the ear, a crush which threatened their limbs, and embraces which stifled their breathing; to wipe away their perspiration, and calmly resume their seats at the council table." Again and again the people called for Lamartine. Again and again Lamartine descended to the people. He has told us of his own appearance: "His dress was in tatters, his neck bare, his hair dripping with perspiration, and disfigured with dust and smoke. He went out and returned, carried rather than escorted by groups of citizens, National Guards, and members of the schools, who thronged around him like a devoted staff of officers around a chieftain on the battlefield of a revolution."

Next day, the 25th, the same scenes were re-enacted. A confused mass of 40,000 people filled

every corner of the place de Grève and broke into the Hôtel de Ville. Within the council Lamartine pleaded with his colleagues for the abolition of capital punishment. Five times he harangued the mob outside, who, dragging with them the dead bodies of the slain, called insistently for the abolition of the tricolour, the adoption of the red flag of the Terror, and the surrender of the fortress of Vincennes. He refused their demands. "I will reject, even to death, this banner of blood," he exclaimed; "for this red flag you offer us has only made the circuit of the Champ de Mars through the people's blood in 1791 and 1793; while the tricoloured banner has made the circuit of the world, with the name, with the glory and liberty of your country." On the 26th this wild confusion continued. A huge crowd of Socialists demanded the "organization of labour." They also were pacified. But in view of the dislocation of trade due to the revolution, and the huge number of unemployed, the Government decided on the immediate opening of national workshops. Here every man out of work had a right to claim employment.

Chaos reigned in the people, in the army, and in the Government. Not since the Terror had such anarchy subsisted in Paris. There were insurrections almost every day. There were divisions among the people; there were divisions among the Ministers themselves. This ill-constituted Government was powerless in the face of the prevailing conditions. It had no power to lead the people, and it was determined not to follow them. Nor was its task rendered any easier by the unwelcome reappearance of Prince Louis-Napoleon in the capital (27th February). Condemned to perpetual imprisonment after the Bou-

logne episode, the prince had languished in the dreary fortress at Ham until May 1846, when, disguised as a workman, he eluded his sixty guards and escaped. Once more a free man, he established himself in London, living in a modest house—1c King Street, St. James's. No man had a better perception of the critical moment than Louis-Napoleon. The return of the Emperor's bones gave him his opportunity in 1840; the fall of Louis-Philippe was his opportunity now. But the Provisional Government had no taste for the prince's proffered assistance, and requested him instantly to withdraw. "I thought, gentlemen," he replied on the 29th, "that after thirty-three years of exile and persecution I had at length the right to find a home in my native land. You think my presence in Paris at this time would be an embarrassment. I therefore retire for the moment. You will see in this sacrifice the purity of my intentions and of my patriotism." Having received the flattering intelligence that he was a person feared by the Government, Louis-Napoleon returned to London. A few days later he renewed communication with his old protector, Odilon Barrot.

Little improvement was manifested in the state of the Government or of Paris as time went on. Clubs under such men as Blanqui, Barbès, Raspail, and Cabet were organized on the model of the Jacobins' Club, in furtherance of the aims of the Socialists and disaffected. What their leaders had failed to wring out of Lamartine in debate they hastened to attempt by intimidation. But popular demonstrations in the place de Grève did not cease. On 28th February, 16th March, and 15th April the Govern-

ment were hard put to it to suppress these disorderly assemblies. Fearful of the result of an election on the basis of universal suffrage, the leaders of the people sought to postpone the elections. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, alarmed his colleagues on 12th March by a circular calling on the prefects and officials to secure the return of candidates drawn from the old republican factions. "We will have," he said, "all men of the day before, and no men of the day after, in the National Assembly." "This circular," wrote Lamartine, "was the public ostracism of almost the whole nation—an 18th Fructidor of words against France." But it was imperative to put an end to the prevailing anarchy. Postponed from one date to another, at last the elections were held, the people voting by universal suffrage and by *scrutin de liste*. Everywhere the Socialists were beaten. The new Assembly consisted of 840 members, the majority favourable to the Government; yet also no less than 130 Legitimists and 100 ex-Royalists were returned at the same time. On 4th May the National Assembly met. They accepted the resignation of the Provisional Government, and appointed an executive commission of five—namely, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Arago, Garnier-Pagès, and Marie—to carry on affairs of state. On the 15th a fresh insurrection, aimed at securing help for Poland, broke out; the Chamber was invaded and declared dissolved. M. Clément Thomas, at the head of the National Guard, rescued the deputies and restored order. Blanqui and Barbès, the insurgent leaders, were relegated to Vincennes. On 4th June the supplementary elections, occasioned by the choice of certain members in more than one constituency,

took place. M. Thiers, General Changarnier, and Prince Louis-Napoleon were returned.

By this time the prince had acquired considerable political influence and importance. His history and his name were in the minds of the people. Four of the twenty-three vacant departments had chosen him as their representative. But Lamartine issued orders for his arrest the moment he reached French soil. On the 12th he defended this action in the Chamber; outside a crowd waited impatiently to learn the prince's fate. Lamartine, profiting by this fact, and the unwelcome cries of "Vive l'Empereur" on the *place* below, gained his point. But on the following day Jules Favre officially presented the prince's election to the Chamber, defended its validity, and secured his admission. Again Louis-Napoleon resigned. "My name," he proudly wrote to the Assembly, "is the symbol of order, of nationality, and glory, and it would be a great grief to me to see it used to increase the troubles which are rending our country. To avoid such a misfortune I should be ready to remain an exile."

But before the Assembly could formulate a constitution they had to deal with a problem created by the Provisional Government—the national workshops. In ever-growing numbers, malcontents and ne'er-do-wells of the capital and the provinces had poured into the workshops. By the end of May no less than 100,000 had been enrolled. The Government had long since ceased to provide work for this overwhelming crowd; those who found no work received an unconditional pension of a franc a day. All attempts to end this iniquitous system, set up by the cowardice of the Government in defiance of

all the principles of political economy, had failed. The satisfied pensioners had no intention of yielding without a struggle. The Assembly, therefore, faced with bankruptcy and insurrection, were obliged to act. On 21st June they issued an order for the enlistment of all eligible men in the army, for the employment of the remainder upon railways and other work in the provinces, and for the closing of the national workshops. Instantly the central and eastern quarters of Paris became one vast camp of insurgents. Gun shops were raided, and the insurgents showed themselves powerfully armed. To meet the situation, on 24th June the Assembly for the time being abdicated their functions, and established General Cavaignac, the Minister of War, as Dictator. From 23rd to 26th June was fought in the streets the bloodiest conflict ever known even in Paris, the most turbulent city of Europe. Joined to the work-people were the greater part of the National Guards and a portion of the newly-established Garde Mobile. In the triangular area formed by the porte St. Denis, the Panthéon, and the place de la Bastille, every street was held and defended by the insurrectionists. Barricades in hundreds protected them against attack by the military. Around the barricades every window was crowded with armed men.

When Cavaignac assumed command on the 24th there were available barely 20,000 troops of the line. Instantly he called for reinforcements from the provinces, and declared Paris in a state of siege. By that same night his force had grown to 30,000, and he felt himself strong enough to move. The army was divided into four columns. The first, under General Lamoricière, was directed to the porte St.

Denis; the second, under Duvivier, to the Hôtel de Ville; the third, under Demesne, to the place d'Italie; and the fourth and last, under General Bedeau, concentrated round the Panthéon. That night and all the next day fighting was incessant, and the streets were drenched in blood. But a contest between trained, disciplined, and loyal troops and an unorganized, ill-directed rabble can have but one end. In the early evening of the 25th the army completed their task. It was clear that the back of the resistance was broken, and efforts at conciliation were attempted. With this end in view Monseigneur Affre, the courageous Archbishop of Paris, arrayed in his robes of office, proceeded towards the insurgent headquarters in the place de la Bastille. Arrived at the spot where the rue du Faubourg St. Antoine debouches on the place, he found his progress arrested by a barricade. Here, while exhorting the combatants to peace, he was struck by a stray bullet and mortally wounded. Cavaignac, however, had so far succeeded that he offered his resignation to the Assembly that night. They refused to accept it, and continued him as Dictator. The last smouldering embers of the insurrection died out on the 26th. This struggle had cost its instigators not less than 10,000 casualties, besides a further 10,000 who were tried and sentenced to imprisonment and deportation—a fearful lesson to rulers of the consequences of a want of courage, a policy of concession and of drift.

VIII.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC.

THE revolution of February was a torch which lit the fires of revolution in every corner of Europe. Prussia, Austria, Italy, Denmark, and England bent before the storm. And how different was the Europe of 1848 from that of 1914! In those days Germany was but a conglomeration of larger or smaller states held together by no vital connection, and mutually jealous of one another, and the greatest of the German states was Austria. To the north of these lay the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, then united to the crown of Denmark; while to the south lay the boot of Italy, itself an aggregation of petty principalities. Away in the south-east Turkey reigned in solitary glory over the Balkan kingdoms.

Inspired by the events in Paris, the people of Vienna rose in revolt on 13th March, and Prince Metternich was obliged to seek refuge in flight. Every part of the Austrian dominions was infected by the revolutionary fever. Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy, and Venetia imitated the example of Vienna. Twice the weak-minded emperor, Ferdinand, fled from his capital; one by one the rebellious provinces were again put under the yoke, and finally Ferdinand was deposed in favour of his nephew, Francis-Joseph,

who ascended the imperial throne on December 2, 1848. At Berlin things were not much better. As early as 27th February Frederick-William of Prussia wrote to Queen Victoria a letter in which alarm and modesty were strangely blended. "If," he said, "the revolutionary party carries out its programme, 'the sovereignty of the people,' my minor crown will be broken no less certainly than the mighty crown of your majesty, and a fearful scourge will be laid upon the nations—a century of rebellion, of lawlessness, and of godlessness." His fears were not unfounded. On the very day that the mob attacked the Diet Hall in Vienna, 13th March, riots broke out in Berlin, which were not quelled for five days. Indeed, on the 18th, the people broke into the royal palace, and compelled the King to view the corpses of their slaughtered comrades. Frederick only made peace with his subjects when he attended the funeral of these victims, and publicly declared himself in favour of a Liberal constitution and a united Germany. As good as his word, the King summoned a National Assembly, and on 30th March there assembled at Frankfurt a preliminary committee, known as the *Vor-Parlament*, to prepare a draft constitution. In May the Assembly met. After many weary months of barren discussion, due to the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, the North German delegates proposed a purely German empire, and offered the imperial crown to Frederick William. Afraid of the jealousy of Austria, which was dead against a united Germany, he refused; and on 5th April Austria publicly repudiated the Assembly, and shortly afterwards it, after vainly beating the air for twelve months, dissolved. Prussia now made one

last attempt at union by summoning a confederation of friendly states. Instantly Austria prepared for war. When it became clear that Russia would support Austria, there was nothing left for it but for Prussia to eat humble pie. On November 29, 1850, her government recognized the federal constitution of 1815 as still valid, and her humiliation at the hands of Austria was complete.

Though not directly affected by the revolution in France, it is necessary to glance at the state of Denmark at this time. Early in 1848 King Christian VII. died, and was succeeded by Frederick III. To the crown of Denmark was joined by a personal union the sovereignty of the twin duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, in which the great majority of the people were German-speaking, and of German extraction and sympathies. The inhabitants of the duchies had become impatient of the Danish yoke, and a great agitation raged over the right of succession. In Denmark the Salic Law did not obtain; in Schleswig-Holstein it did. At any moment, therefore, the duchies might become separated from the crown of Denmark. So intimately, indeed, were they bound up with Germany that the King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, actually sent a representative to the North German Federation. When, therefore, Frederick III. promulgated a constitution abolishing any distinction between Schleswig-Holstein and the rest of his kingdom a revolt arose. Prussia lent aid to the duchies, and thereupon war ensued with Denmark. General Wrangel expelled the Danes, driving them back into Denmark proper, and was only prevented from following them up in their own country by the intervention of England and Russia. But on

the sea the Danes were complete masters. They blockaded the undefended ports of Germany, and took her ships as prizes of war. By the armistice of Malmö hostilities were suspended, and the duchies practically restored to Denmark (August 26, 1848). When the seven months were up the war recommenced, and was carried on in a desultory manner until July 1850, when Prussia made peace, and the German Federal Council, under Austria's influence, returned to Frederick his revolted provinces. To crown all, the German national fleet, ordered by the Frankfurt Assembly for prosecuting the war against Denmark, was dissolved and sold by public auction in 1852.

The European unrest reached England in the form of a renewal of Chartist agitation. The leaders of the movement summoned England to take warning by the fate which had overtaken the French monarchy. A great meeting was called for 10th April, when the citizens, after assembling on Kennington Common, should march to the House of Commons and lay their petitions before Parliament. These demands were six in number: Universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, the ballot, removal of the property qualification required for members of parliament, payment of members, redistribution. A collision with the authorities was gravely feared. As a measure of precaution, thousands of special constables were sworn in to preserve order, and amongst them Prince Louis-Napoleon. In addition, after consultation with the Duke of Wellington, an army was assembled and held ready for immediate action. But the demonstrators, intimidated by these proceedings, lost heart. Not more than 15,000

assembled, and they, on the advice of their leader, Feargus O'Connor, quietly dispersed.

This was the state of Europe in 1848. The terrible "days of June" over, the French National Assembly applied themselves to the manufacture of a constitution. At the end of August the Chamber began the discussion of the draft prepared by a sub-committee appointed for the purpose in May. Guided by visionary and ideal preconceptions, the deputies endeavoured to establish a utopian form of government, based upon the principle of universal suffrage. But with so many differing parties—dreamers like Lamartine, Moderates like Odilon Barrot, Democrats like Ledru-Rollin, Radical journalists like Marrast and Lamennais, Bonapartists like King Jérôme, Prince Pierre, and Lucien Murat—it soon became evident the constitution would be a constitution of compromise. Very slow progress was made in its elaboration. Already the Republicans had split into two groups themselves—the Moderates, under Dupont de l'Eure and Lamartine; the Democrats, under Ledru-Rollin and Flocon. In face of these developments it was only by forty votes that Lamartine carried his proposal for a single chamber assisted by a *conseil d'état* on 27th September. This Chamber was fixed at 750 paid members, elected for three years by universal suffrage. But the great fight occurred over the status and mode of election of the President. By October this question had become critical by the re-election of Prince Louis-Napoleon (17th September) in five out of seventeen vacant departments. On 24th September the prince had arrived in Paris, and on the 26th had taken his seat in the Chamber. No one could doubt that he had become an out-

standing figure in the political world, and that the eyes of France were upon him. It was determined that the President should enjoy a four years' tenure of office, should choose his Ministers, and should have the direction of the army, but could not command in person. On the other hand, he was ineligible for re-election, and was denied power to suspend or negative the laws of the country. Then ensued a battle royal over the mode of election. Grave doubts were expressed at Lamartine's advocacy of election by the people. To have an Assembly elected by universal suffrage and a President chosen by the same means was to establish two powers, not necessarily reconcilable, in the country, and to pave the way for a dictatorship. On 9th October Lamartine, who believed his own election assured if the proposal were carried, ascended the tribune and pleaded for the popular choice on the basis of universal suffrage. "Though the dangers of the republic are my dangers," he declared, "though its fall is my ostracism and my everlasting sorrow, I do not hesitate to pronounce in favour of the course which seems to you the most dangerous—election by the people." His winning eloquence, still as powerful as ever, gained over the hesitating Assembly. In his speech he had succeeded—succeeded in establishing his own political annihilation and the legalization of despotism. It was decreed that the President of the French Republic should be elected by universal suffrage.

Two days later the laws of exile pronounced against the Bonapartes were repealed. Louis-Napoleon was at last in his native land by right, and not on sufferance. On 4th November the Assembly concluded

their constitutional labours; on the 14th the new republican constitution was solemnly inaugurated by a grand religious ceremony in the place de la Concorde—an imitation of the Feast of Pikes. Meanwhile the government of the country was still under Cavaignac's dictatorship, and Paris was only just freed from the state of siege. But the constitution once completed, the whole interest of the country centred in the forthcoming presidential election. Louis-Napoleon announced his intention of becoming a candidate; his rivals were Lamartine, Cavaignac, Changarnier, Ledru-Rollin, and Raspail. Lamartine hoped for election as the representative of the people, who had returned him so triumphantly for ten departments in April. Cavaignac was the representative of order, Changarnier an Orleanist, Ledru-Rollin and Raspail were Democrats. Left to themselves, the Assembly would have chosen General Cavaignac; he had repressed those very disorders which the weakness of Lamartine and his colleagues had engendered. Raspail and Ledru-Rollin, two fanatics, had no chance of election. Changarnier stood for a lost cause—Orleanism. With Lamartine discredited—the disturbances of Paris and the insurrection of June being associated with his policy—it soon became evident that the real contest lay between Louis-Napoleon and Cavaignac. In dread of the Prince, the Assembly attempted to retain the last word in the election by reserving the choice to themselves unless one candidate obtained twice as many votes as all the other candidates put together. Cavaignac, therefore, the saviour of society, having this tremendous advantage, might justly count upon election. Apparently Louis-Napoleon stood in every respect at a

disadvantage. He was unknown in France ; he was detested by the Assembly. Yet, too, he possessed solid advantages. He bore a great name. Alone of his family, he had striven to keep alive the remembrance of the glorious past. He had twice struck at the throne of Louis-Philippe. At Ham he had consorted with Socialists like Louis Blanc, and had written for the republican newspapers. Throughout one of the most humiliating periods in French history he had stood apart from the conduct of affairs. Hitherto an exile or a prisoner, he possessed no political past to live down ; even in the fearful events of June he had had no share. Nor was he associated with any of the parties contending for the mastery. Over him, therefore, Republicans were divided, and Socialists and Democrats even espied in him a vigorous foreign policy directed towards the emancipation of oppressed nations such as Poland and Italy.

The presidential elections were fixed for 10th December. "Whatever be the result of the election," wrote the prince in his address, "I shall bow to the will of the people ; and I pledge beforehand my co-operation with any strong and honest government which shall re-establish order in principles as well as in things ; which shall efficiently protect our religion, our families, and our properties—the eternal bases of every social community." Descending to details, Louis-Napoleon promised economy, the provision of public works for the unemployed, new laws adapted to new industrial conditions, and a policy of peace combined with consideration towards the army. Despite the use of every artifice which Cavaignac's government could employ—intimidation

of the Press, pressure on the electors, hints of favours to be distributed—Prince Louis-Napoleon was returned by a staggering majority. On the 20th December the results were read out by M. Waldeck-Rousseau in the Chamber, amid a scene of the greatest excitement. Louis-Napoleon headed the list with 5,434,226 votes; Cavaignac was a bad second, with 1,448,107; Ledru-Rollin was third, with 370,119; then followed Raspail (36,900), Lamartine (17,910), and last of all, General Changarnier, having a beggarly 4,790 votes. Such a climax terrified the Assembly and amazed Europe.

Louis-Napoleon had arrived at the chief-magistracy of France by the all but unanimous call of his fellow-countrymen. He was forty years of age; of these years thirteen alone had been spent on the soil of France—seven of them under the latter days of the Empire, and six in the prison at Ham. A stranger to his country, he had as much personal knowledge of its geography and its institutions as he possessed of Egypt or of Russia; even its very language he spoke slowly and ponderously, with a pronounced German accent. Yet this amazing turn in his fortunes was no chance happening. Clinging to the country of his birth with infinite love and tenderness, he had spent his years of exile and imprisonment in the study of her customs, her history, and her ideals. A dreamer and an enthusiast, he possessed in amplest measure the virtue of patience. In solitude and misfortune he had meditated long upon a reconciliation of France with the imperial system; he had watched a France refounded and reorganized under the Revolution and the Empire arrested in her natural development by a series of

reactionary monarchs. Confident in the wisdom and the excellence of the political and social ideals of Napoleon I., as great in peace as in war, Louis-Napoleon sought to continue that progress which had been arrested in 1814. A firm believer in his destiny, the prince, through evil report and good report, had patiently striven to keep himself before the eyes of France. Neither ridicule nor persecution had damped his ardour. He was the representative and successor of his illustrious uncle, and it was his bounden filial duty to put into operation those gigantic schemes the great emperor had foreshadowed. Now at last his country, torn by factions and drenched by the blood of civil war, called him to the helm; in her hour of extremity France confided her destinies to an imperial name, a name symbolic of order, of progress, and of glory.

At the sitting of 20th December Prince Louis-Napoleon took the oath of faithfulness to the constitution, and formally accepted the presidency. That night he went into residence at the Elysée Palace—strangely enough, the last sheltering place of Napoleon I. after Waterloo. There was a certain appropriateness in this coincidence. France is a country in which progress and reaction alternate in a violent manner. In 1789 France commenced the bloodiest of revolutions in vindication of the rights of man, and for the destruction of tyrants. Ten years later she surrendered her civil and political liberties to the greatest of all despots. Having gone backward in this particular, at this very moment, under the inspiration of the Emperor Napoleon, she went forward in another. Napoleon devised for her laws and institutions so admirable that no later revolutions have

been able to overturn them. With the fall of the empire and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, begun under Louis XVIII. and continued under Louis-Philippe, France advanced again towards political freedom. Yet this gain was immediately counterbalanced by the stagnation induced in social and industrial questions by the stern policy of repression favoured under the three new monarchs. What, therefore, Prince Louis found at his accession to power was a France with her society based upon the institutions of the Empire, but in a state of suspended animation. It was reserved for him to impart new life and vigour to the social organism and the industrial world, to change stagnation into progress. Wearied by strife and faction in word and deed, France rallied round one who belonged to no party, but who possessed a name full of the happiest recollections. In a word, France entrusted to a new Napoleon *personal* power. Suspicious of monarchs and constitutions, she fixed her hopes not on a republic but on a person. Personal power is the secret of Louis-Napoleon's success.

On December 29, 1848, Louis-Napoleon settled his first Cabinet. It was a Cabinet of order. The office of Premier he conferred upon his old friend and supporter, Odilon Barrot; foreign affairs were entrusted to M. Drouyn de l'Huys, a comparatively young man, already possessed of eighteen years' diplomatic experience under the July monarchy. M. Tracy went to the Ministry of Marine, Hippolyte Passy to that of Finance; M. Malleville became Minister of the Interior, General Rulhières of War. All these had been Orleanists. Joined to them were the comte de Falloux, a friend of Montalembert, and the abbé

Dupanloup, as staunch a Legitimist as a churchman, who became Minister of Public Instruction and Worship; and M. Bixio, who took charge of the department of Agriculture and Commerce. MM. Bixio and Marrast (who was continued as president of the Assembly) were the only two Republicans called.

From the moment of his accession to the presidency Louis-Napoleon entered upon war *à outrance* with the Assembly. Lamartine's influence had led them to establish a President whose authority was derived directly from the whole nation and co-ordinate with their own. The Prince made no secret of this equality of power. "The majority which I have obtained," he told them when he accepted office, "not only fills me with gratitude, but will give to the new government a moral force without which there can be no real authority." These words offered a scarcely veiled challenge to the deputies, and did nothing to conciliate their ill-concealed distrust. Had Lamartine or Cavaignac secured election, no doubt the constitution of 1848 would have worked well, for a time at any rate; but with a Napoleon at the Elysée a collision was inevitable. The constitution was not the work of the people, nor ratified by their suffrages; they had rallied not to a brand-new republic, but to the glamour of an imperial name. The name of Napoleon, coupled with the Prince's programme, stood for order and progress. Louis-Philippe had barred the way to progress. Lamartine's government had begun with riots and ended in civil war—for the June disturbances were nothing less. Elected during a time of uncertainty and confusion, torn by factions within and without, confronted by the unexpected resoluteness of the Presi-

dent, this constituent Assembly by the end of 1848 had long since forfeited popular respect. When, therefore, Louis-Napoleon, on January 29, 1849, demanded a dissolution, and backed up his demand by a military demonstration under General Changarnier, the mortified deputies gave way, and promised to disperse as soon as the Budget was completed. They lingered on until May, endeavouring to devise means to stave off national bankruptcy induced by the reckless expenditure of the Provisional Government. Before the elections took place the minds of Frenchmen were diverted from the misdeeds of the Assembly into another channel.

Amongst the Italian principalities and kingdoms shaken by the troubles of 1848 the Papal States had been included. Pius IX. on assuming the tiara had given much promise as a reformer; but these hopes were soon dispelled, and when, on 24th November, the people of Rome rose in revolt, he fled from the misgoverned Eternal City and took refuge at Gaeta, in the domain of the King of Naples, Ferdinand, a staunch Catholic; thence he appealed for help to the sovereigns of Europe, "in consequence of the nefarious conspiracy of abandoned and most turbulent men." Cavaignac, while he was still dictator, held out hopes of French assistance; but before he could move in the matter the elections of 10th December put an end to his political existence. On 5th February 1849 a Constituent Assembly met in Rome, declared the Pope's temporal rule at an end, offered guarantees for his spiritual jurisdiction, and declared Rome a republic. Shortly afterwards Charles Albert, King of Sardinia and Piedmont, renewed the war of 1848 directed against Austrian supremacy in Lom-

bardy and Venice. On the 23rd of March he was signally defeated at Novara by Marshal Radetzky, and abdicated his throne. The prospects of a united Italy being for the time clouded over by the victory of the Austrians, the hopes of the Pope for a restoration by foreign intervention rose in proportion. In order to keep out Austria, Louis-Napoleon determined on an occupation of Rome, and dispatched 10,000 troops to Civita Vecchia, where they landed on 25th April. General Oudinot, in command, unaware of the strength of the Roman army, and thinking to overawe both the popular and the papal parties, marched on the capital at once. He found himself opposed by Garibaldi's army of patriots; on the 30th his small force made an attack upon the city, and was repulsed. Obligated to fall back, all further operations were out of the question until reinforcements arrived.

Intelligence of Oudinot's repulse reached Paris on the eve of the elections. Popular opinion was divided. Montalembert and the Catholics enthusiastically championed the cause of Pius IX.; the Radicals and Democrats were infuriated at the prospect of the French republic wiping out a sister republic in Rome. A motion was carried in the moribund Assembly censuring the conduct of the Government, and calling upon them to maintain the expeditionary force in its original attitude of watchful neutrality. M. de Lesseps was thereupon dispatched as envoy-extraordinary to arrange matters between the citizens of Rome, the Pope, and the King of Naples (3rd May). On the 18th of May the general election returned a large Conservative majority to the Chamber. The Moderates, caught between

two fires, were utterly wiped out ; Lamartine, a year ago the idol of the people, found himself unseated. Ledru-Rollin, now allied with the extreme Republicans, on the other hand, strengthened his position ; his party secured two hundred representatives, and he himself was elected in five departments. But the Conservative alliance, with its headquarters in the Rue de Poitiers, made up of Orleanists, Bonapartists, Legitimists, Clericals, and a few Republicans, gained over five hundred seats, and as long as the coalition lasted dominated the Assembly. On 27th May the old Chamber was dissolved ; next day the new one met. Finding the majority inclined towards a restoration of the Pope, the President disowned a negotiation entered into with the Romans by de Lesseps, strengthened Oudinot's force until it numbered 35,000 men, and besieged Rome. After a month's siege Rome fell (3rd July). But Garibaldi and his followers were first suffered to make their escape towards Piedmont unmolested. There are few nobler incidents in history than the great patriot's exhortation to his soldiers on the eve of the French occupation. " I can only offer you," he said, " hunger and danger, the earth for a bed, and the warmth of the sun for refreshment ; but let whosoever does not even now despair of the fortunes of Italy follow me." Garibaldi went out, and Pius IX. came in. Twenty-one years were to elapse before Rome became the capital of a united Italy. This consummation was not to be reached until the fall of Napoleon. For the time being the President was successful : the Pope was restored to his disaffected subjects by France, and not by Austria.

Radical opponents of the Rome expedition had

not allowed the action of the President and the Assembly to pass unchallenged. On the 10th of June M. Ledru-Rollin presented an act of accusation before the Assembly; three days later this was followed up by an attempt at insurrection. Instantly the malcontents were made to feel the weight of the prince's hand: they found him a very different man to deal with from the chiefs of the late Government. Changarnier, the commander-in-chief, and the President were fully prepared when, on 13th June, a crowd of fifteen thousand rioters of the old school assembled at the château d'Eau. No sooner had they collected together than a strong body of military came on the scene and resolutely dispersed them; that evening Changarnier and Louis-Napoleon independently rode through the streets, attended by their staffs and cheered by the people. A timely proclamation from the President announced that the rioters had been dispersed, and conveyed a clear warning for the future.

At the beginning of July the Prince-President commenced the first of those provincial progresses which became so notable a feature of his rule. He visited Chartres, Amiens, Nantes, Tours, Rouen, Dijon, Epernay, and other places, not neglecting to pay a call at Ham, the scene of his long imprisonment. Here, in reply to the mayor's welcome, he made a somewhat unexpected reference to his former exploits. "To-day," he said, "when, elected by entire France, I have become the legitimate chief of this great nation, I cannot take pride in a captivity which was caused by an attack upon a regular government. Believe me, I am not come to Ham from pride, but from gratitude." Wherever he went the

President was received with a great display of enthusiasm, and was emboldened in the pursuance of his personal policy. But affairs in the Assembly were by no means so gratifying. Already the union of Conservatives was giving signs of breaking up, and murmurs were heard against the head of the State. After a reconstruction of the Cabinet in May, the prince, now more than ever confident in his own strength, called in a new Ministry entirely devoted to himself, on the last day of October 1849. In this Ministry the leading spirits were General d'Hautpoul, President of the Council; M. Rouher, Minister of Justice; M. de Rayneval, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and M. Fould, Minister of Finance. "The name of Napoleon," they announced to the Chamber, "is a programme in itself."

The first year of Louis-Napoleon's rule was of incalculable benefit to France. Order and security were established; trade revived; the finances were reorganized; general confidence was restored. But difficulties in the Assembly increased. The old party spirit revived, and the Government were accorded only a grudging support. But the sharper the opposition to the President, the greater grew his popularity. On May 31, 1850, the Assembly passed an electoral law abolishing universal suffrage, the source of the President's power, and limiting the franchise very considerably. "I cannot understand how you, the offspring of universal suffrage, could defend the restricted suffrage," said Madame Cornu to Louis-Napoleon. "You do not understand," said he. "I am preparing the ruin of the Assembly." "But you will perish with it." "On the contrary," concluded the prince, "when the Assembly is hanging over the

precipice I shall cut the rope." And opposition now arose in a fresh quarter—the army. General Changarnier, following upon the death of Louis-Philippe at Claremont (August 24, 1850), revived the Orleanist hopes by arranging a solemn mass for the repose of the soul of the ex-king in the chapel at the Tuileries. Louis-Napoleon could not fail to regard this unauthorized ceremony as a direct challenge. To make his independence the more marked, Changarnier next proceeded to issue an order forbidding the usual acclamations afforded the President when he visited the army. This was followed up by a further injunction, calling upon his soldiers to obey no orders save those emanating directly from the commander-in-chief. Finding the Assembly unwilling to call the general to account, Louis-Napoleon determined to exercise his constitutional right and dismiss him. Changarnier, therefore, was replaced by General Baraguay d'Hilliers. At the same time the National Guard were placed under the orders of General Perrot (January 8, 1851).

Foiled in their political ambitions by the firm and resolute independence of the President, and irritated by the dismissal of Changarnier, the hostility of the deputies increased into open warfare. It was necessary for the President to reconstitute the Ministry three times in the spring of 1851; but it seemed impossible to bridge over the differences between the Elysée and the Palais Bourbon. When Louis-Napoleon demanded of the Assembly an increased allowance he was met with a decided refusal. The Committee on the Dotation Bill replied that they "desired to maintain the executive power, but not to aggrandize it. The President is not royalty. The President is only the first citizen.

He is not head of the state. He is head of the executive power" (10th February). Five thousand persons assembled and cheered the prince as he passed out of the Elysée next evening. Louis, for his part, revenged himself upon the Assembly by an announcement in the *Moniteur*, stating that he had declined the public subscription proffered by the country on the failure of the Dotation Bill; by cancelling his forthcoming reception as a measure of economy; and by announcing the sale of twenty-one of his horses.

Early in 1851 petitions began to pour into the Assembly from Lyons and other places, urging the prolongation of the President's term of office. By a clause in the constitution of 1848 the Chambers were incompetent to make any constitutional change until they entered upon their third year of office—that is, not until 28th May 1851. But revision was the one topic of interest in the country. Louis-Napoleon's firm and beneficent administration had given France order and prosperity, and the commercial and industrial world trembled at the prospect of a renewal of the old struggles and animosities when the election of a fresh President took place in May 1852. The opening of the railway at Dijon, on June 1, 1851, gave the prince an opportunity of airing his views. "I wish," said he, "that those persons who doubt of the future had accompanied me through the populations of the Yonne and the Côte d'Or. They would have seen that neither intrigues, nor attacks, nor passionate discussions of parties are in harmony with the sentiments and state of the country. France does not wish the return of the *ancien régime*—no matter under what form it may be dis-

guised—nor the trial of evil and impracticable utopias. It is because I am the most natural adversary of the one and the other that she has placed her confidence in me.” These words were received with a great outburst of cheers, and their effect was not obliterated when Changarnier attacked them two days later in the Chamber in the course of a violent onslaught on the President. “The army,” he then declared, “desires no more than you to inflict on France the wretchedness and shame of the government of the Cæsars, when emperors were successively raised to power or hurled to the earth by drunken Prætorian guards. No one will ever induce the soldiers to march against the Assembly.” Matters took a more practical turn on 10th June. That day forty deputies presented petitions for revision to the Assembly. The duc de Broglie was appointed president of a committee on the revision of the constitution; on the 24th of June he declared for revision, but the committee rejected his motion. On the 19th of July, however, they presented a final report in favour of revision to a crowded chamber. Put to the vote, the motion was carried by 446 to 278; but as by section 111 of the constitution this was not a three-fourths majority the project was lost. Legal forms having failed to effect a peaceable revision, France was reduced to alternatives of force or anarchy. For Louis-Napoleon, indeed, there was no real choice; his private means were exhausted, his official income was insufficient even for his present needs; he could not afford to retire if he would. And the constant reminders of popular favour encouraged him to persist. Nor did he allow the grass to grow under his feet. He was indefatigable in his reviews of the

army, and the soldiers showed themselves enthusiastic in his support. Meanwhile petition after petition poured in from the provincial councils in favour of revision; by the end of August sixty of the eighty-six councils had signified their good will. A month later these numbers were raised to eighty.

As a last hope of peaceful settlement the President called upon the Rouher Ministry to prepare a scheme abolishing the law of 31st May 1850 and restoring universal suffrage. The Cabinet resigned, and after an interval a new one was formed (26th October). In his annual letter on the assembling of the deputies Louis-Napoleon proposed to them a resolution of the prevailing deadlock by an appeal to the people. "Have you," he asked, "less confidence than we in the expression of the popular will? I believe it my duty to propose every means of conciliation, and to use every effort to bring about a pacific, regular solution, whatever may be its issue. To-day, to re-establish universal suffrage is to deprive civil war of its ensign, the Opposition of its last argument. It will be to furnish France with the possibility of giving itself institutions which may ensure its repose." This was plain speaking, and, far from conciliating, deepened the fears of the Assembly. As a preliminary answer the questors issued an ordinance asserting the right of the president of the Assembly to call on the army to provide security for the Chamber—in other words, to overawe the President. Louis-Napoleon was prompt and to the point in his reply. "If ever the day of danger should arise," he said, addressing a group of officers of the garrison of Paris at the Elysée, "I will not do as the governments which have preceded me have done:

I will not say to you, 'March, and I will follow you;' but I will say to you, 'I march; follow me.' " This was check, but it was mate when it appeared that, though the Assembly had the right to the protection of the military, the appointment of commander rested under the constitution with the President. In the second week of November the project for the restoration of universal suffrage was defeated in the Chamber, and the last hope of conciliation vanished.

So profound were these differences that all Europe looked on in hourly expectation of some desperate move by one side or the other. "The great battle," wrote a well-informed English journal in a leading article on 22nd November, "will not be fought with any doubtful objects. The intriguers of the Thiers school, all the factious and impracticable men of the Assembly, the trading politicians, the rats of the sinking ship, all the riffraff and scurf left in French public affairs and indoctrinated in the corruption prevalent in France for the last twenty years, will fall an easy prey to the President. He will conquer them in the future as he has held them in defiance in the past; and in all probability, by a successful *coup de main*, which millions in France would sincerely rejoice if he attempted, will vault into that seat of power which is to him as much a personal necessity as a public aspiration." These words were so accurate a delineation of the state of French politics that they might have been the words of the Prince-President himself. Secretly, at the Elysée, Louis-Napoleon was preparing a crushing blow against the refractory Assembly. Here were gathered round him a band of helpers destined to become the actors in one of the greatest political adventures of all time.

The helpers and fellow-conspirators were Napoleon's half-brother, the comte de Morny, an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense; General St. Arnaud, recently brought over from Algeria and established in the Ministry of War; M. de Maupas, a provincial prefect who had ingratiated himself with the President, and was now Prefect of Police; General Magnan, commander-in-chief in Paris; M. Fleury; and the Prince's old friend of bygone days, comte Persigny.

Paris was absolutely quiet on the night of Monday, 1st December, when the President held an official reception at the Elysée. At the Opéra that night de Morny and Cavaignac sat together, and a few seats away was M. Thiers—all come to see the play, "Le Château de la Barbe Bleue." Cavaignac, indeed, was to have been married the next day, but circumstances hindered. Very early in the morning of 2nd December officials of the *gendarmérie* were called into the office of de Maupas at the Prefecture of Police, and directed to arrest the leaders of the Opposition. Between three and five o'clock, in the quiet and stillness of a winter's night, the houses of seventy-six of Louis-Napoleon's principal enemies were surrounded, and the luckless owners dragged out of bed and placed under arrest. MM. Thiers, Baze, Crémieux, had the privilege of this attention, together with Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Bedeau, Lamoricière, Oudinot, Charras, and Leflô, who were thus prevented exercising their influence over the army. Not that these distinguished officers could have effected much, as Generals St. Arnaud and Magnan were already assured of the sympathy of the army for the President. At the same hour as these arrests occurred, the National Printing Works was set to work

under military supervision upon the production of a series of addresses to the nation. Louis-Napoleon had laid his plans so secretly, organized his programme so thoroughly, won over the necessary agents so completely, that the intimidating machine operated with the most admirable smoothness and precision. Between 5 and 6 a.m. large forces of troops—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—wakened peaceful citizens by their clattering footsteps upon the cobble-stones. No station was neglected; the place de la Concorde, the precincts of the Palais Bourbon, the bridges, the squares, the boulevards—all were occupied. When citizens descended into the streets they found every wall placarded by the President with an announcement that the National Assembly and the Council of State were dissolved, universal suffrage restored, the electors convoked on 14th December, and the capital declared in a state of siege. Further proclamations were addressed to the Army and the People. The army were called upon to vote within forty-eight hours; were reminded of the sins of the Assembly; of the slights cast upon themselves in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; and invited by their suffrages to rally round the President. "Soldiers," said the prince in stirring words, "I do not speak to you of the *souvenirs* which my name recalls; they are engraved on your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties—your history is mine. There is between us in the past community of glory and misfortune. There will be in the future community of sentiments and of resolutions for the repose and grandeur of France." To the people the President recounted the factious attitude of the Assembly. "Instead of making laws for the general interest," he complained, "it forges

arms for civil war; it attacks the power which I hold direct from the people; it encourages all bad passions; it compromises the repose of France. I have dissolved it, and I make the people judge between it and myself." In conclusion were outlined the fundamental bases of a new constitution, based upon the system "created by the First Consul at the commencement of the century"—namely, a responsible chief elected for ten years, Ministers dependent upon the executive power alone, a Council of State, a Legislative Body, and a Senate. "If you believe," was the final exhortation, "in the cause of which my name is the symbol—that is, France regenerated by the revolution of '89 and organized by the Emperor—if you believe that cause to be still yours, proclaim it by consecrating the powers I ask of you."

Apprised of these heavy tidings, the leaders of the Opposition were early astir. It was hardly more than 8 a.m. when they commenced to assemble at the house of M. Odilon Barrot; thence they passed on to the house of M. Daru, where, by 11 o'clock, some two hundred were gathered together. They then attempted to enter the Chamber of Deputies, but were denied admission by the military. Their final halt was made at the Mairie of the X. *arrondissement*. No sooner had they passed a series of resolutions deposing the President, calling upon the High Court to try him on a charge of treason, and summoning General Oudinot to take command of the forces in Paris, than they found their labours interrupted by a body of Chasseurs. Two hundred and thirty-five of them were arrested and marched off, first to the Quai d'Orsay barracks, and afterwards to Mazas and Vincennes; not a word of sympathy was expressed

for them by the large crowds gathered round. At 11 a.m. the President of the Republic, accompanied by his uncle, the ex-king of Westphalia, attended by a numerous and magnificent staff, left the Elysée and commenced an all-day progress through the streets. Order reigned everywhere, and the prince was respectfully, if not enthusiastically, received in every quarter of the capital. At nightfall Paris wore her accustomed look, and things went on just as usual. The President might be well satisfied with his first day's work.

The 3rd of December was marked by a certain degree of disorder. In the morning unrest was stirred up in the working-class districts in the eastern quarters by a number of Montagnard ex-representatives, included among the leaders being E. Arago, Victor Hugo, and Baudin. About 11.30 a.m. Baudin was killed in a scuffle on a barricade at the corner of the rue St. Marguerite, but in every direction the military held the upper hand. During the afternoon and evening several groups of dissentients were dispersed in the neighbourhood of the place de l'École de Médecine, the rue des Vieilles Audriettes, and the rue de Rambuteau; while General St. Arnaud caused placards to be exhibited warning peaceful citizens to keep indoors, and announcing that all taken carrying arms would be shot. The night was rather more disturbed than the preceding one; a number of barricades sprung up, only to be easily overturned by sergents-de-ville. Crowds gathered on the morning of the 4th in the quartiers St. Denis and Montmartre; they were broken up by bodies of cavalry, which swept along the boulevards every five minutes. After the Mairie of the *V. arrondissement* had been attacked and

captured, the troops were called out (2 p.m.). The most serious opposition was encountered in the boulevards at the top of the rue Richelieu towards three o'clock. Here were erected some formidable barricades, round which a large crowd collected, attracted for the most part by curiosity. A terrific struggle ensued between the troops, powerfully assisted by artillery, and the dissentients. Animated by a desire to wipe out former humiliations, the soldiers repressed the disorders with great vigour and gave no quarter. By the 5th of December every semblance of opposition had been stamped out; large numbers of prisoners were taken, those in arms being shot forthwith on the Champ de Mars. In the street fighting, the official casualty list reported 25 soldiers killed and 184 wounded. It is impossible to estimate the insurgent losses; in any case they were far below those of June 23-26, 1848.

On Monday, 8th December, the President announced the success of the *coup d'état*. "Frenchmen," he said, "the disturbances are appeased. Whatever may be the decision of the people, society is saved. . . . But as long as the nation shall not have spoken, I shall not recede before any effort, before any sacrifice, to defeat the attempts of the factious."

IX.

THE SECOND EMPIRE.

LOUIS-NAPOLEON was now committed beyond recall to his great adventure. He had counted upon the support of the army, and his confidence had been justified. Would the people rally round his banner? His suspense was soon over. Following the example of the army, the electors declared overwhelmingly in favour of the President. On the night of December 31, 1851, a consultative commission announced the result of the poll at the Elysée—7,439,216 votes were cast in favour of the new Caesarism, only 640,737 against. Astounding as were the figures of 1848, they paled into insignificance before this extraordinary expression of popular feeling; after three years of office Louis-Napoleon found himself entrusted with powers such as no man before, not even the great emperor himself, in France or out of France, had ever received. "Let us sum up his government," wrote Victor Hugo, with a pen dipped in gall. "Who is at the Elysée and the Tuileries? Crime. Who is established at the Luxembourg? Baseness. Who at the Palais Bourbon? Imbecility. Who at the Palais d'Orsay? Corruption. Who at the Palais de Justice? Prevarication. And who are in the prisons, in the fortresses, in the cells, in the casemates, in the hulks, at Lambessa, at Cayenne,

and in exile? Law, honour, intelligence, liberty, and right." * The proudest nation of Europe lay at the dictator's feet, entrusting her destinies to him in mad, blind, overwhelming confidence. The July Monarchy had been liberty without progress; the Second Empire was to be progress without liberty.

Events succeeded one another at this epoch with bewildering rapidity. While the illuminations of Paris burned brilliantly in his honour, the prince lost not a moment in getting to work. Commissions were appointed for the trial of the insurgents of December, and of every one suspected of hostility to the new order. Ten thousand *rouges* were deported to Algeria, six thousand were subjected to police supervision, and three thousand more were rusticated to the provinces. Yet the President, in the midst of this stern obliteration of all dangerous persons, knew how to temper firmness with mercy, and in a very short time the greater number of the representatives arrested so stealthily in the early morning of 2nd December found themselves at liberty. Side by side with this negative aspect of his programme, Louis-Napoleon was not slow to act upon the positive side. At the beginning of January he established himself at the palace of the Tuileries, restored the imperial eagle upon the standards of the army, placed his own effigy upon a new coinage, and struck a medal in honour of the *coup d'état*; on the one side was a bust of himself, on the other the number of the votes cast for him in the recent *plébiscite*, surrounded by an inscription, "*Vox populi vox Dei.*" Everywhere in the capital the trees of liberty planted in 1848 were uprooted, and workmen were busied in rubbing

* Victor Hugo : *Napoleon the Little*, p. 76 (1852).

out the once cherished *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*. Further, the old monarchical street names were restored, and the *Moniteur* recommended the resumption of titles of nobility. Far indeed had France marched since the revolution of February.

But after all the main business of the Prince-President was the drafting of a constitution. This, the work of years of debate in most countries, was promulgated on Thursday, 15th January, only a fortnight after the declaration of the polls. It proved to be, as foreshadowed, a close imitation of the political institutions of the Consulate. At the head of the state came the President of the Republic, elected for ten years, who held the command of the army and the navy, and he alone possessed the right of initiative in legislation, and of declaring the country in a state of siege. The work of legislation was entrusted to two bodies—first, the *Conseil d'État*, consisting of from forty to fifty paid members, who drafted new laws at the call of the President of the Republic; and, second, the Legislative Body (*Corps Législatif*), which possessed some 260 unpaid deputies, elected for ten years by universal suffrage, who were entitled to discuss new projects of law submitted to them, and to propose amendments, which, however, to be carried, had first to be accepted by the *Conseil d'État*. The Legislative Body sat for three months in each year, and was liable to be convoked, adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved at the will of the President of the Republic. Then came the *Sénat*, whose numbers were fixed at less than 150 (for the first year only eighty) members, selected for life by the President, and paid at his discretion. The business of the Senate was to safeguard the constitution—"it is the deposi-

tory of the fundamental compact, and of the public liberties compatible with the constitution"—and to receive petitions. The Senate might propose modifications of the constitution, but these only became effective if ratified by a *plébiscite*. The Ministry were selected by the President, and answerable to him; ministers were disqualified from sitting in the Legislative Body; the only method of attacking them was an arraignment before the High Court at the instigation of the Senate. Finally, the mayors of all communes were appointed by the executive power.

The way the wind blew was shown very clearly on 21st January, when, for the first time since 1830, all public business was suspended in memory of the death of Louis XVI. On the very next day the President published a decree confiscating the property the Orleans family had come into possession of on the accession of Louis-Philippe, and compelling the ex-king's family to dispose of the whole of their property in France within a year. This proceeding, which was felt to be of great harshness, occasioned the resignation of a number of Louis-Napoleon's supporters; but the undignified attitude adopted by the Orleanist family did much to soften the resentment incurred. From 1st March onwards all newspapers were subjected to government authorization, were compelled to deposit caution money, and were rendered liable to immediate suppression by the executive power. The revolutionary *fêtes* of 24th February and 4th May were abolished, and the celebrations in honour of Napoleon I.'s birthday (15th August) declared to constitute for the future the only national *fête*. Ex-King Jérôme was appointed president of the Senate, and M. Billault of

the Corps Législatif. The elections for the Lower House were carried out on 1st and 2nd March, and resulted in the return of 261 members, all of whom were favourable to the new *régime*, Cavaignac, Carnot, and Hénon having refused to occupy their seats. On 30th March Napoleon received the Senate, Conseil d'État, and Legislative Body in the Salle des Maréchaux at the Tuileries, where, amid considerable enthusiasm, they took the oath: "I swear obedience to the Constitution and fidelity to the President." In April the Senate voted the Prince-President a civil list, and granted him the royal palaces and other possessions of the Crown.

Not one single safeguard remained to restrain Louis-Napoleon's political supremacy. With the army enthusiastic, popular opinion overwhelmingly favourable, and every institution in subjection—Parliament, the Ministry, the Press—he was more an absolute monarch than any Czar of Russia in his palmiest days. But there is one sin French people will never forgive their rulers—failure. The Prince-President had obtained every concession he had asked of the electors; every vestige of freedom and privilege had been obligingly yielded up. France entirely depended upon the personality of one single man. It remained to be seen whether her blind confidence was misplaced. One criterion alone would determine—success. Few men would accept on any terms the heavy responsibility Louis-Napoleon lifted on to his shoulders with so easy an air.

Yet if the Prince had received overwhelming confidence, he still lacked one thing—the outward expression of his glory. Proceeding, as he had done, step by step in the footprints of his uncle, he could

not draw breath freely until he had reached the pinnacle of power. The *coup d'état* was an imitation of the expulsion of the Five Hundred; the 1852 constitution of the constitution of the year VIII. What was now required was the translation of the ten years' consulate into the Empire. His claims, his name, his policy, his personal ambition, all marked out the assumption of the imperial orb and sceptre as the coping-stone of this fabric so expeditiously constructed. Writing to King Leopold on the eve of the 1848 election, Queen Victoria had grasped the significance of his personality. "Louis-Napoleon's election," she wrote, "seems certain, and I own I wish for it, as I think it will lead to something else." In order to ascertain the feelings of his countrymen upon this "something else," the President planned two great provincial tours of inquiry during the summer of 1852. The opening of the Strasbourg-Nancy railway afforded him the first opportunity. He set out from Paris on 17th July. At every stopping-place he was made the object of popular demonstrations of affection and devotion. From Strasbourg, where he was warmly acclaimed, he crossed the Rhine on to German territory at Kehl, and reviewed a number of Baden troops in the presence of Baden, Prussian, Würtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt representatives gathered to do him honour. At Paris, on his return, his arrival was in the nature of a triumphal entry, the people, the army, and the clergy gathering in the streets to offer him their heartfelt felicitations.

Yet the Strasbourg progress was as nothing compared to the visitation of the south and south-west provinces, commenced on 14th September. From Rochefort to Toulon, from Grenoble to Lyons,

every great city received the President with the wildest enthusiasm, overwhelming him with their cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Assured of his ground, Louis-Napoleon raised the flag of Empire at a great banquet at Bordeaux (9th October). "In order to do the country good, there is no need to apply new systems," he declared, "but to impart, above all, confidence in the present and security in the future. It is for these reasons that France seems to wish to return to the Empire. There is one objection to which I would wish to reply. Certain minds seem to fear war, and certain persons say, 'The Empire is war;' but I say, 'The Empire is peace.'" This policy of peace, crystallized into the one epigrammatic sentence, "*L'Empire, c'est la Paix,*" he outlined there and then with the greatest particularity. In reproducing his words we reproduce the internal history of the France of the next eighteen years. "We have," said the President, "immense and uncultivated lands to reclaim, roads to open, ports to dig, rivers to render navigable, canals to finish, our railroads to complete; we have, opposite to Marseilles, a vast kingdom to assimilate to France; we have all our great ports of the west to bring near the American continent by the rapidity of the communications that are still wanting to us; we have, in fact, ruins to build up everywhere, false deities to pull down, truths to render triumphant. It is in this manner I understand the word Empire." This speech, posted in each one of the 37,300 communes of France, was the trumpet call to Empire. The Prince returned to the capital in the midst of acclamations surpassing all the previous mighty triumphs of this splendid meteor. Outside the Lyons railway

station he found a huge triumphal arch bearing the inscription, "À Louis-Napoléon, Empereur." Others were labelled, "L'Empire, c'est la Paix," "L'Empire est fait," while at the entrance to the Tuileries gardens he passed under a final arch bearing the words, "À Napoléon III., Empereur."

Encouraged by the national cordiality, the Prince-President was not slow in communicating the wishes of the people to the Senate, who, on 7th November, presented to him at St. Cloud two resolutions declaring the Empire re-established in favour of himself and his male descendants. These propositions were submitted to the country in a fresh *plébiscite*, 21st November, and the electors ratified them by an overwhelming majority—7,864,180 ayes and 248,263 noes. These figures surpassed even those of 1848 and 1851, and bore eloquent testimony to the exhilarating fascination exercised by the new Napoleon over the entirety of the French people. On the evening of 1st December the Senate drove out to St. Cloud in a torchlight procession, presented the final figures to Louis-Napoleon, and offered him, in the name of France, the imperial crown. "I take from this day with the crown," he replied, "the name of Napoleon *III.*, because the logic of the people has conferred it on me in their acclamations, because the Senate has legally proposed it, and because the whole nation has ratified it." There, then, at St. Cloud the Empire was consummated, and the liberties of France signed away. By a strange coincidence it was from the same place that Napoleon, in a very different frame of mind, started for that campaign which ended at Sedan in the downfall of the Empire.

On December 2, 1852, the anniversary of Auster-

litz, of the coronation of Napoleon, and of the *coup d'état*, the Second Empire was solemnly proclaimed, and Napoleon III. made his state entry into the capital. There being as yet no direct heir to the throne, the Emperor appointed King Jérôme, followed by his son, Prince Napoleon, as heir-presumptive. Jérôme, therefore, resigned his functions in the Senate, and received the governorship of the Invalides (December 29, 1852). But on January 22, 1853, Napoleon III. informed his ministers that he was about to marry the Comtesse Eugénie de Montijo, the daughter of a grandee of Spain. The civil marriage took place a week later, and on the following day the Emperor and Empress drove to Notre Dame to receive the blessing of the Church in the very same coach that had once carried Napoleon I. and Josephine to their coronation. But with Napoleon III. there was no coronation, since the negotiations opened with Pius IX. failed to materialize. Three years of anxiety elapsed before, on March 16, 1856, the Emperor's only child, the Prince Imperial, was born. From that moment, his dynasty assured, Napoleon was at liberty to make concessions towards the association of the people with the government of their country.

The history of the Second Empire may be readily divided into two main portions—home and foreign policy. No country ever underwent a transformation upon so gigantic a scale as France during Louis-Napoleon's administration. Every kind of public work was encouraged and personally supervised by the Emperor. Huge international exhibitions—on the model of the English Great Exhibition of 1851—were organized in 1855 and 1867. Railways, telegraphs, steamships were multiplied with incredible

rapidity. For the financing of these colossal undertakings two great banks were established. The *Crédit Foncier* advanced moneys upon land and house property in the interest of agricultural development ; while the *Crédit Mobilier* granted loans for the construction of public works, railways, steamships, and manufactories of every kind. Assured of order in the country, security for property, and assistance from the Government, trade prospered to a degree undreamed of. And nowhere was the fruit of these changes more manifest than in the capital. Paris was compelled to put on a new face. Quaint old streets and winding passages were swept away. The labyrinth of mean houses which had disfigured the place du Carrousel disappeared. It seemed as if the city had been transformed from mediæval to modern times in a moment. In place of crooked, narrow streets, ill lit and badly drained, Baron Haussmann, appointed Prefect of the Seine in 1852, was directed by Napoleon III. to set to work upon a series of broad highways capable of accommodating the heaviest traffic. Designed by Haussmann's genius, forthwith were constructed those wide and magnificent streets and boulevards which make Paris one of the noblest cities in the world. First came a new street running north and south in one straight line, with the names of the boulevard de Strasbourg, the boulevard de Sébastopol, and finally (after it has crossed the river) the boulevard St. Michel. Then followed the rue de Rivoli, formerly the work of Napoleon I., which was now continued from the Louvre eastwards to the place de la Bastille. Two new boulevards, de Magenta and de Voltaire, ran directly from the gare du Nord to the place de la

Nation. On the south side of the river the boulevard St. Germain swept round in the arc of a circle from the Pont Sully to the pont de la Concorde; on the north the grands boulevards were augmented by the construction of the boulevard Haussmann, stretching from the Arc de Triomphe to the Opéra. These two last works were unfinished at the fall of the Empire, and indeed to this day the junction of the boulevard Haussmann and the boulevard des Italiens awaits completion.

Such are a few of the broad, tree-lined streets planned by the Emperor and Haussmann. At the same time almost every great public building was restored or rebuilt. As early as 1850 Napoleon rebuilt the Elysée Palace, and started out on the greatest of all his architectural projects—the construction of the new Louvre. After demolishing the network of small streets opposite the Palais Royal, he proceeded to join up the old Louvre and the Tuileries. When, in 1857, this was completed, the connecting galleries on the south side beside the Seine were rebuilt. This was followed by the reconstruction of the Pavillon de Flore and alterations at the Tuileries. These works were concluded in 1868, and but for the war there would have been a new Tuileries in place of that gloomy, uncomfortable, and ill-proportioned structure which served as the grave of so many monarchs and empires. Nevertheless, by all these improvements the Louvre and Tuileries became one vast palace, the largest in the world, covering an area three times as great as the Vatican, its nearest rival.

Amongst public buildings erected or remodelled we may mention the Palais de Justice, the Hôtel Dieu, the casernes Napoléon, Lobau, and Prince

Eugène, the Morgue, the ponts de St. Michel, de l'Alma, and de Solférino, and the churches of la Trinité, St. Augustin, and St. Bernard. Nor must we forget the new Opéra, with its handsome approach, the avenue Napoléon (now called the avenue de l'Opéra); the laying out of the parcs de Monceau, des Buttes-Chaumont, and, best of all, the bois de Boulogne, with its two ornamental lakes, cascades, racecourse, botanical gardens, and the magnificent boulevard de l'Impératrice (renamed the avenue du bois de Boulogne—leading to it by an extension of the avenue des Champs Élysées westward from the Arc de Triomphe).

Not only this, but the boundaries of Paris were pushed out to the lines of the fortifications in 1860. The population of 1,053,262 in 1852 increased to 1,525,255 in 1861, and to 1,825,274 in 1870. What happened in the capital rapidly inspired sympathetic interest in the provinces, and, as usual, the Emperor encouraged any fresh undertaking. Marseilles, Lyons, and the great towns soon developed into reproductions in miniature of the public buildings, streets, and boulevards of Paris. The harbours of the great naval ports—Brest, Cherbourg, and Toulon—were extended; new docks were constructed at Havre, Marseilles, and elsewhere.

Everywhere were abundant signs that a renaissance had arisen in France. Louis-Napoleon soon made it evident that the trust reposed in him had not been misplaced, and that as a social reformer and director of industry he was not less efficient than as a restorer and keeper of order. Under him France, which since 1815 had fallen out of the front rank of nations, in a very short time regained her



NAPOLEON III.

(After the painting by Flandrin.)

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old place, and the statesmen of Europe took into account in their calculations the legions of the Emperor Napoleon, reckoned again the finest army in the world. The early years of the Second Empire were years of unrivalled prosperity. Trade, commerce, industry, manufactures, art, science, increased enormously. At peace at home and honoured abroad, Frenchmen thought that the apotheosis of France, dreamed of by the great ceiling painters of Louis XIV., had really come; the whole country seemed bathed in an atmosphere of glory and prosperity.

During the reign of Louis-Philippe foreign monarchs had avoided the court of France; but, within a few months of the accession of Napoleon III., Paris became again the centre of European society. A warm friendship sprang up between the Emperor and Empress and Queen Victoria, which remained unbroken after the trials of 1870. Their personal relations were begun by a visit the Prince Consort paid to the Boulogne camp in the early part of the Crimean War (September 4-8, 1854). An invitation was on that occasion extended to Napoleon III., then in the full glory of his rising star, to visit England. On April 16, 1855, their Imperial Majesties arrived at Windsor Castle, and completely captivated Queen Victoria. A return visit was paid in August, and gave the greatest happiness to the Queen. "It was touching and pleasing in the extreme," she wrote, after a visit to the Invalides, "to see old enmities *wiped out* over the tomb of Napoleon, before whose coffin I stood (by torchlight) at the arm of Napoleon III., now my nearest and dearest ally. . . . For the Emperor *personally* I have conceived a *real* affection and friendship." This friendship, so valued and

appreciated by the Queen, was not limited to the two courts, but was cemented by community of sacrifice in the carnage of the Crimea, and finally by a ten years' commercial treaty negotiated by Richard Cobden and Napoleon III. (January 23, 1860). Under this treaty the French duties on English manufactured goods were limited to a charge not exceeding 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, and coal and iron were taxed at fifteen cents per hundred kilogrammes. On the other hand, England abolished the duty on French manufactures, reduced that on French wines to three shillings per gallon, and admitted silk free. This approach towards free trade—the Emperor being a convinced free trader—caused no little uneasiness among the business men of France.

One final feature of the imperial rule remains to be mentioned. French people are by nature fond of outward show and magnificence. This they had in an extraordinary degree under Napoleon III. Gorgeous military pageants and entertainments abounded. Every season the reviews at the bois de Boulogne and elsewhere attracted universal attention; but perhaps they were surpassed in splendour by the celebrations at the *fête de l'Empereur*, 15th August. On these occasions Paris became one mass of brilliant illuminations, and the streets were thronged with people. The Emperor and Empress, too, were admirable hosts, and extended the most prodigal hospitality. All the leaders of politics, of literature, of thought, of science, of art, and (of course) the commanders of the army and navy, were entertained on the most lavish scale at the Tuileries, or St. Cloud, or Compiègne, or Fontainebleau. Even when the people had tired of all this glitter and show, and

showed signs of exhaustion in face of so much continuous prosperity, Napoleon and Eugénie retained a remarkable degree of personal popularity—the Emperor for his affability and easy condescension, the Empress Eugénie for her extreme beauty, her charity, and her devotion to good works.

So firmly was the imperial *régime* established by 1857 that its enemies saw not the least chance of accomplishing its downfall. Convinced that further resistance was useless, and making a virtue of necessity, a number of Opposition leaders decided to stand for Parliament in the elections of June 1857. In Paris they gained unlooked-for successes. Here General Cavaignac, MM. Goudchaux, Carnot, Darimon, and Émile Ollivier were elected. But things went well with the Government in the provinces. At Lyons, indeed, M. Hénon was returned, M. Braine at Lille, and M. Curé at Bordeaux; but in every other constituency the Bonapartists were triumphant. At the conclusion of the elections the Government could safely rely upon 256 deputies out of 267; 5,471,888 favourable votes were cast, as against 571,859 for the Opposition. Before, however, the Chambers assembled, General Cavaignac died, and Goudchaux and Carnot (both members of the Lamar tine government in 1848) refused to take the oath. A new start in parliamentary opposition was formed by the union of Curé, Hénon, Darimon, and Émile Ollivier; but these were soon reduced to three by the desertion of Curé. Next year the three were increased to five by the election of Ernest Picard and Jules Favre. Known as "*les Cinq*," this tiny opposition party were destitute of all power in the Chamber, and their speeches were listened to with

impatience; but they stood for a principle in the country—hostility to the Napoleonic *régime*—and as such they were the focus of a growing movement in the great manufacturing towns. Their influence was the source of no little anxiety at the ministries and the Tuileries.

X.

MILITARY GLORY.

“L’EMPIRE, c’est la Paix” were the famous words of Louis-Napoleon at Bordeaux. But whatever might be the hopes and intentions of the Emperor, the issues of peace and war did not lie wholly in his hands; and, as far as they did, men remembered that the name of Napoleon hardly portended the ushering in of an era of universal peace. Frenchmen, weary of their long struggles at home, looked for peace, and sighed with relief to hear Napoleon solemnly pledge himself to a pacific policy; but the world outside could not be blamed for exhibiting a little scepticism and nervousness about the intentions of the Emperor. The *Times* gave vent to this feeling in its annual summary for the year 1852. “The imperial throne and unscrupulous ambition of Napoleon have been revived in France. Once more peace seems to hang on the breath of a man who may consult necessity and passion by giving the fatal word that shall surround these isles and cover the ocean with war. Our security is affected by the blow that has struck down the liberties of France. What Napoleon III. has done to his subjects, he may, with as little warning or hesitation, do to us, who have less claim upon his mercy.”

As far, however, as England was concerned, Napoleon proved a true friend, though his name was long an object of suspicion among the labouring classes, who had a lingering memory of the horrors their fathers underwent campaigning in the Peninsula, in Belgium, and in France itself. From the very beginning the Emperor set himself to gain the affection of the English people, and it was but a short time before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were on terms of intimate friendship with the French court. Lord Palmerston, indeed—that far-seeing Foreign Secretary—had extended Louis-Napoleon a welcoming hand on the very day of the *coup d'état*, and for his precocity, if not for his clear-sightedness, had been ignominiously dismissed from office.

Successful as the new Emperor was at home, foreign politics presented a different and a far more perplexing problem. Years of meditation in exile had taught him how to regard and deal with the French character—when to use the rod, and when, by a soft answer, to turn away wrath. European diplomacy was hardly so simple a matter. In this sphere Napoleon came into competition with the trained and experienced schemers and intriguers of the world. Here he met men all more experienced, often more skilful, sometimes more crafty than himself. Success in this field could not be won by a frontal attack; brilliant and patient flanking movements offered the only hope of success, and the enemies of France were by no means destitute of ability and skill. France could only gain influence in the councils of Europe by first-rate diplomacy, backed by a strong military force. Napoleon might subject France to his will. To subject Europe itself

was a different matter. Nevertheless it is not among the least achievements of this extraordinary man that, in the early years of his reign, he achieved a success in his foreign policy as phenomenal as his success at home.

Europe always needs some political demigod at whose shrine she may worship. At one time Napoleon I. filled this rôle, at another time the Czar Nicholas I., at another Prince Bismarck, of late the Emperor William II. At the door of this select company Louis-Napoleon hammered away unabashed, calling loudly for admittance; and, after he once got in, it was but a short time before he had established himself as the arbiter of Europe. From 1854 to 1864 he was at the height of his diplomatic fame, with his name on every man's lips. Even in the declining years of the Empire the countries of Europe, with trembling breath, waited to hear Napoleon's views before engaging in any fresh venture.

Two factors stood dominant in the mind of the French emperor when he applied himself to foreign politics. First he was possessed of a dreamy desire to help all oppressed nationalities to gain independence. Italy, Moldavia, Turkey, Poland at one time or another enlisted his sympathy. In the second place, being what he was, and the nephew of whom he was, he could never forget that France needs not only peace and plenty at home, but her people must be dazzled by glory abroad if her ruler is to enjoy the confidence and esteem of his subjects.

As a matter of fact, even before he established the imperial court at the Tuileries, Louis-Napoleon was embroiled in the whirlpool of foreign politics. As far back as June 1850, under the influence of

the Catholic party in France, he had demanded of the Sublime Porte the custody of the keys of the sacred sites at Bethlehem. After considerable delay the Turkish Government agreed to the request presented at Constantinople by M. de la Valette, the French Ambassador. This was in February 1852. A few days later the wily Oriental diplomatists intimated to the Greek ecclesiastics at Bethlehem, who were under the protection of Russia, and had grown excessively jealous of the French priests, that they were confirmed in all their possessions. Thus the Sultan's ministers promised the Latin priests, on the one hand, that they should have the keys they coveted, and the Greek priests, on the other, that they should retain to the full all their rights and privileges! It is not surprising that the humour of these proceedings hardly appealed to the French diplomats. A few movements of troops and ships soon alarmed the Sultan, who now yielded; so that the Silver Star was brought by the Latin priests to Bethlehem on December 22, 1852, and set up in triumph in the great Church of the Nativity. At the same time they received keys of the door and manger.

But the Sultan was by no means out of danger. He had yielded to the threats of France; now he had to face the anger of the Czar, who replied by a mobilization of his forces beyond the banks of the Danube. Nicholas next renewed the negotiations with England which he had foreshadowed in 1844. On January 9, 1853, in words which have become historic, he addressed the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. "We have on our hands," he said, "a sick man, a very sick man; it will be a thousand pities if one of these days he expires suddenly before

we have made the necessary disposition for his property." These words fell upon deaf ears. In the spring of 1853 the Russian emperor sent Prince Mentschikoff to press his views upon the Sultan at Constantinople. The custody of the holy places was demanded, and the Sultan was reminded of the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, by which Russia claimed the right to protect the Christians in the Turkish dominions. In the meantime the Russian army on the Danube and the Russian fleet in the Black Sea remained inconveniently close to the Sultan's borders. The English ambassador happened to be away, and Colonel Rose, the *chargé d'affaires*, at the request of the Porte, called on the admiral in the Mediterranean to bring the British fleet to the Dardanelles. He refused. The Emperor Napoleon took a different view, and moved up a French squadron to Salamis.

Austria now attempted mediation between Turkey and Russia. Acting upon inspiration from Paris, the Vienna Foreign Office drew up a note to which it was hoped both parties would consent. At first all the great Powers were favourable to this document, and Russia instantly accepted its provisions. In the meantime, however, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had returned to the British embassy at Constantinople. No one stood higher in the Sultan's esteem; and, on his part, until a few months before, this eminent English diplomat had entertained high hopes for a regenerated Turkey. Directly he saw the Austrian note he detected in it words which, if assented to by the Sublime Porte, would destroy the independence of Turkey. "The Government of his Majesty the Sultan," ran the note, "will remain faithful to the letter and spirit of the stipulations of the treaties of

Kainardji and of Adrianople relative to the protection of the Christian religion." Here were words which, if they had any meaning at all, expressly granted the very demands Russia made upon the Sultan. What she claimed was the recognition of her right to a protectorate over the Christians in the Turkish empire, the larger part of the Sultan's subjects. Warned by a timely hint from the English ambassador, the Porte rejected the note as inconsistent with the Sultan's independence, and the Grand Vizier stoutly asserted that Turkey was the protector of her own Christian subjects, as laid down in the treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople.

Threatened by the massed forces in Moldavia, and weary of the long discussion, Turkey cut the knot, and declared war (October 23, 1853). Under Omar Pasha the Turks assumed the offensive and crossed the Danube. But they were soon forced back by the superior strength of the Russians, and retired to the north bank of the river. The next move came from Russia. Whilst the Turkish fleet lay at anchor in the harbour of Sinope, in the Black Sea, they were attacked and utterly destroyed by a powerful squadron from Sebastopol (November 30, 1853). On the arrival of this news, London and Paris were overwhelmed with resentment, quite regardless of the fact that since Turkey had declared war the Russians were well within their rights. The year 1853 went out in gloomy darkness. Three great nations of Europe were preparing for a contest "which, though begun on the banks of the Danube, may spread from the Baltic to the Caspian, from the Caspian to the Ganges, and from the Ganges to the shores of the North Pacific." For the moment negotiations con-

tinued with the object of driving Russia back to the *status quo ante bellum*; but all the while the anvils of England and France beat out new weapons for the legions of Austerlitz and Waterloo. Finally, on April 10, 1854, the two countries concluded an alliance binding themselves to take up arms in defence of the Sultan, and not to conclude a separate peace or to seek separate advantages. The next day the Czar declared war.

The war secured Napoleon one great advantage. It brought him into definite alliance with England, the first Power in Europe, and this gave great prestige to his newly established throne. On the French side Marshal St. Arnaud, one of the men of the *coup d'état*, and a brave and experienced soldier, received the supreme command; while the English army was placed under the authority of Lord Raglan, a veteran of the Peninsular War who had lost an arm at Waterloo.

During the early summer the allied forces disembarked at Varna, on the Black Sea. On 13th July the home governments directed an invasion of the Crimea, aimed at the destruction of the great Black Sea fortress of Sébastopol. On 14th September the troops began their landing, and accomplished this difficult business unopposed. England and France each contributed about 30,000 men, and Turkey lent some 7,000 infantry. The Russians assembled their army on the banks of the river Alma, and on the approach of the allied forces on 20th September gave battle. Prince Mentschikoff, who had exchanged diplomacy for the sword, compelled them to attack, feeling sure of his position and confident in his men. We are told that Marshal St. Arnaud gave no instruc-

tions to his generals, Canrobert and Prince Napoleon, the Emperor's cousin. "With such men as you," he is reported to have said, "I have no orders to give; I have but to point to the enemy."* The assault was made in a blundering, haphazard manner, without any real generalship, but when night fell the fortunes of the day rested with the soldiers of Raglan and St. Arnaud. No attempt was made to pursue the beaten foe. Had an immediate advance followed, it is probable that Sébastopol would have fallen, and the war been ended almost as soon as it had begun.

As it was, the attack upon the great fortress did not begin until 17th October, when the allies descended from the heights of Balaklava to the south of Sébastopol. The Russians beat off the besieging force. It soon became evident that the troops at the disposal of the allied commanders were insufficient for the investment and reduction of the city, and with the advance of winter there was nothing for it but to sit tight and wait until the spring. On their side the Russians were not inactive; a new army attacked the allies from the rear on 25th October, and made a bold bid for the possession of Balaklava. They were repulsed, and the Light Brigade gained undying fame in the fatal heroism of their glorious charge. The next day the enemy launched an attack from Sébastopol itself, also without success. A fortnight later, on 5th November, was fought the bloodiest battle of the war, the Battle of Inkerman. Like the struggle on the Alma, the contest was fought out upon no definite plan, and it was rather the bravery

* Kinglake: *Invasion of the Crimea*, Vol. II., p. 281, ed. 1863.

and steady determination of the allied forces than the skill of their leaders which won the day.

Of the horrors of that rigorous winter it is unnecessary to speak here. Suffice it to recall that the forces of England and France, by the incompetence and lack of foresight of their leaders, endured untold privation. Disease, cold, hunger, and discomfort made heroes of the survivors and martyrs of the victims. The war dragged on all through 1855 with no definite success. Napoleon III., alarmed at the tide of affairs, visited Queen Victoria at Osborne in the spring, and proposed, as the only effective remedy, that he should assume command of the united armies in person. It needed all the tact of the Queen to restrain him from so hazardous a proceeding. At last, early in September 1855, Sébastopol fell. A grand assault had been planned by the allies for 5th September; the French were to attack the fortress of the Malakoff, and the planting of the imperial eagle upon it was to be the sign for the English to move against the Redan.

General Péliissier took the Malakoff, and received the dukedom of that name from the Emperor Napoleon. The assault upon the Redan was far more difficult, and though the English gained their objective, they failed to hold it against an overwhelming Russian fire. A fresh assault was determined on for the next day, but before it could be delivered the Russians evacuated their fortifications, and after a year's siege Sébastopol fell into the hands of the allies.

With the capture of Sébastopol the war virtually came to an end. Innumerable changes had taken place during its investment. The Czar Nicholas had died in February 1855, and was succeeded by Alexander II., who continued the war with unabated

vigour. Terrible sufferings fell upon the Russians. When the war began Nicholas had boasted that he had two generals, General January and General February, who would overcome all foreign attacks. But General February turned traitor, and carried off the Czar himself. The Russian army lost more men on the long march southwards across the lonely steppes and wastes towards the Crimea than they had killed or wounded in battle. Death also was busy in the ranks of the allies during the severe winter of 1854-55. Amongst its victims it claimed the amiable and popular English commander, Lord Raglan, and the redoubtable French leader, Marshal St. Arnaud. General Canrobert, and afterwards General Pélissier, became commander-in-chief of the French forces, and General Simpson of the English.

Blundering as was the generalship and criminal the mismanagement of the Crimean campaign, it resulted in the ultimate victory of France and England over the army of Russia. The Emperor Napoleon, now recognized as an equal by all the sovereigns of Europe, was able to cast a glamour of success over the sorry fortunes of the war, and Frenchmen were delighted to welcome, after the lapse of so many years, fresh glory to their arms. But the victory, bought at the cost of so much suffering, was of small worth. The Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856), which concluded the war, has long since ceased to be respected by the contracting parties. Subsequent events have shown that the Emperor Nicholas was the one man who rightly understood the Turkish question.

But if the results of the war were barren and worthless, the assembly of the European potentaries at Paris was a great personal triumph for the Em-

peror Napoleon. No such gathering had assembled since the Congress of Vienna. Now came a fresh congress presided over by a Napoleon himself. The Black Sea was neutralized; the Danubian provinces were given their independence, subject to Turkish suzerainty; and a promise was extracted from the Sultan that in future Christians and Mohammedans should be placed on an equal footing throughout the Ottoman empire, while the independence of his empire was guaranteed collectively by the Powers.

Frenchmen were well satisfied by these provisions. They remembered that the operations of the war ended with the brilliant capture of the Malakoff by their troops, and it was flattering to the national *amour propre* to see Paris once again the centre of the diplomacy of Europe. Napoleon carried himself with dignity throughout the sittings of the congress, and in the end these successes in arms and diplomacy, both valued beyond their worth, added greatly to his prestige. The name of France was once more feared in Europe. The army of France had been put to the test, and had come out of it covered with glory, while the Emperor had triumphantly dictated terms of peace. In celebration of all this Paris gave the name of Sébastopol to the great new boulevard running north and south, and Malakoff was commemorated in one of the splendid avenues radiating from the Arc de Triomphe.

But the Emperor had no sooner got out of one foreign entanglement than he was embroiled in another. That great Piedmontese statesman, Cavour, the most brilliant diplomat in Europe between Metternich and Bismarck, at the instance of his sister, had applied to Napoleon III. in 1854, and begged

that his country might be allowed to bear arms beside England and France in the Crimea. His proffered help was accepted, and on January 10, 1855, an offensive alliance was entered into between the three Powers. Eighteen thousand troops of the King of Piedmont and Sardinia were quickly landed to swell the allies' armies in the Crimea, and they bore themselves with no small credit in many a sanguinary engagement. Cavour had shown his extraordinary genius in this proceeding. Being allied with France and England, Piedmont gained the right to participate in the Congress of Paris; when the treaty was finished, taking advantage of his opportunity, Cavour induced the French Foreign Minister, Count Walewski, to draw attention to the miseries of Italy. Oddly enough, foremost among the Powers to express sympathy was Russia, which had so lately been attacked by the Piedmontese, and whose last emperor, the Czar Nicholas, had refused eight years before to recognize, with the customary politeness of kings, the accession of Victor-Emmanuel to the throne of Sardinia after the disaster of Custoza. Count Buol, the representative of Austria, refused to admit the competency of the congress to discuss the Italian question, and the matter dropped. Nevertheless Cavour had gained his point. He had in an emphatic manner drawn attention to the necessity of Italian unity; for this ideal he had gained the sympathy of nearly all the countries represented in the congress. Lastly, he had shown that the affairs of his distracted country must, at no distant date, become a question of prime political moment.

“Look out what you are doing,” Victor Emmanuel had said a few years before to the Marquis

d'Azeglio when he suggested Cavour as a minister. "Cavour will soon be master of you all." This time was fast approaching. Cavour had taken the measure of Napoleon III. Napoleon was a friend of Italian independence. As a lad he had fought with his brother in the ranks of the Italian patriots against the pontifical troops, and he loved to pose as the champion of oppressed nationalities. Cavour, therefore, had little difficulty in gaining his sympathy. On the other hand, the Pope was only maintained in his temporal power by the French garrison Louis-Napoleon dispatched in 1849, and the advocacy of Italian unity involved ultimately the suppression of the temporal power. French Catholics viewed with great apprehension any action tending towards the diminution of the papal authority. The Empress herself was understood to belong to this party. Napoleon III. was, therefore, torn two ways. His sympathies were on the side of Italy, but any definite action was hindered by the prejudices of a large part of his subjects, and of his wife.

Let us just see how Italy was divided up. Venice and Lombardy were fretting under the oppressive hand of Austria. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Papal States were subject to reactionary rulers bolstered up by the hated Austrians. In the south, beyond the Pope's dominions, lay Sicily and the kingdom of Naples—sometimes called the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—which groaned under the corruption and tyranny of Ferdinand II. The only parts of Italy possessed of free institutions were Piedmont and Sardinia, united under the wise rule of Victor Emmanuel I., who had his capital at Turin.

For the time, then, Napoleon failed to move. An inherited tendency towards hesitation seemed to paralyze his operations. This trait belonged also to Napoleon the Great, and is spoken of by Dr. Holland Rose : " Uncertainty ever preyed on Bonaparte's ardent imagination. His was a mind that quailed not before visible dangers ; but, with all its powers of decisive action, it retained so much of Corsican eeriness as to chafe at the unknown, and to lose for the moment the faculty of forming a vigorous resolution." *

While the mind of Napoleon III. remained hesitating and vacillating, an event suddenly occurred at the beginning of 1858 which determined him upon active interference in Italy. A peculiarly dastardly attempt was made upon his life. This attempted assassination of the Emperor was not for the first time, but it was more violent and more nearly successful than on any other occasion. On the evening of 14th January the Emperor and Empress had pledged themselves to attend a benefit performance at the Opéra, which stood then on the north side of the boulevard des Italiens, between the rue Lepeletier and the rue Drouot. Just as the imperial carriage drew up at the Opéra door, and before their Majesties had alighted, four bombs were thrown down upon the coach in rapid succession. A violent explosion took place. The Emperor escaped, with no worse damage than a splinter or two of iron in his hat and cloak. As to the Empress, her dress was seen to be stained with drops of blood from some broken glass which scratched her face. But eight persons were killed, and no less than 150 wounded. Among the victims of the explosion were General Roguet, who was in immediate

* *Life of Napoleon*, pp. 110, 111.

attendance on the Emperor, nine lancers of the personal escort, eleven municipal guards, and thirty-two police officers and detectives. Napoleon coolly entered the theatre as if nothing had happened, and gave his attention to the play until midnight.

This crime had been engineered in England by an Italian named Felix Orsini, who a few hours after incautiously brought suspicion upon himself, and was arrested. Discovered, he made no secret of his intentions, which were aimed at the destruction of Napoleon, on account of his supposed disloyalty to the Italian cause. Before his death the culprit wrote a very striking letter to the Emperor—who had magnanimously done all he could to mitigate the death penalty—repenting his crime; he besought Napoleon to persevere in the liberation of Italy, and the Italians to beware of his example and abandon assassination as a political weapon. This letter was forwarded by the Emperor to King Victor-Emmanuel, who published it broadcast in his dominions, where it exercised a timely restraining influence. In France, however, much indignation was aroused against England, which had unwittingly afforded Orsini and his fellow-conspirators an asylum in which to plan their crime. A number of military officers presented addresses to the Emperor, which, under pretext of congratulating him upon his escape, were in reality a thinly disguised attack upon England. Their behaviour was resented in England, with the result that a supposed accomplice of Orsini, one Bernard, was acquitted after his counsel had made a rhetorical appeal to the jury denouncing the Emperor Napoleon, who, whatever threats he might use in his own country, “would never be able to intimidate a

British jury." In their anxiety to meet the danger so unconsciously brought upon the Emperor and Empress of the French, the Government of Lord Palmerston introduced a Conspiracy Bill into the House of Commons, which was rejected, and brought about their resignation. Thus, for the second time in less than seven years, the English Cabinet was reconstituted owing to Lord Palmerston's acts of friendship to Louis-Napoleon. In 1851 Lord Palmerston was dismissed from the Foreign Secretaryship for an unguarded approval of the *coup d'état*; now the Cabinet itself was broken up by the Premier's anxiety to propitiate the Emperor.

This attempt of Orsini on his life finally determined Napoleon to interfere actively in Italy. The calamity at the Opéra was the match which blazed up the smouldering fires of the Emperor's sympathy with the cause of the Italian patriots. When, in the July of 1858, Napoleon went to Plombières to take the waters, a secret meeting was arranged with Count Cavour. At this interview the Emperor definitely promised armed assistance to the Piedmontese in their struggle to emancipate Italy, and to build up a united Italy on the basis of free institutions and a liberal constitution.

Having once made up his mind, Napoleon unburdened his soul on the Italian question with uncompromising audacity. When the ambassadors proceeded to the usual reception at the Tuileries on New Year's Day, 1859, the Emperor startled the company by speaking to the Austrian ambassador, Baron Hübner, in terms unmistakably menacing. "I regret that the relations between us are bad," he said; "but tell your master that my personal feelings

towards him are unchanged." The significance of this utterance was not wasted upon the diplomats present, nor did they lose any time in communicating it to their respective governments. While the abruptness of the Emperor's words took the ambassadors for the moment by surprise, in reality they were not wholly unprepared for such a move. It had been known to the world at large, and had been mentioned in the newspapers in the autumn of the old year, that relations between Austria and France were by no means cordial, and that the French army had been placed in a state of unusual preparedness. Yet, a fortnight after the reception, the French Ambassador in London told Lord Malmesbury, then Foreign Secretary, that a war at the moment was unlikely, as public opinion in the great French towns was averse from a war with Austria. A few days later, however, Napoleon inspired the publication of a pamphlet, entitled, "*L'Empereur et l'Italie*, which was an undisguised attempt to rally his subjects to his views.

Meanwhile, on 10th January, Victor-Emmanuel had delivered a speech at the opening of the Piedmontese Parliament which could mean nothing less than a speedy war. "While we respect treaties," the King said, "we are not forgetful of the cry of grief which comes to us from so many parts of Italy. Strong in union, trusting in our good right, we await, calm and decided, the decrees of Divine Providence." And as if to cement further the alliance between France and Piedmont, on 19th January Prince Napoleon, the son of the former King Jérôme, and the Emperor's first cousin, was married to the Princess Clotilde, the eldest daughter of Victor-Emmanuel.

On his part, Napoleon III. promised, in a military convention drawn up at this juncture, armed aid to Italy.

Europe saw that a conflict could hardly be averted, yet the Powers made one last great effort in the direction of peace. Russia proposed a reference of the Italian question to an international congress. She was strongly supported by England. But Piedmont demanded representation in such an assembly. What then, it was asked, was to be done in regard to the other Italian principalities? Endless bickerings delayed diplomatic intervention until it was too late. Cavour played his cards with matchless skill. Holding Napoleon to his engagements, he kept steadily in view the necessity of the emancipation of Northern Italy. To gain this point, he offered concessions where he might safely do so, and stood firm upon essentials. England, and France too, began to press disarmament on Piedmont and Austria. This Piedmont agreed to on 18th April. But Austria's patience was exhausted. Five days later she sent an ultimatum to Turin. Cavour rejected the demands of Francis-Joseph on 26th April, and the conflict began.

Napoleon kept his promise, and came to the help of the Piedmontese, promising "to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic." For the moment the initiative lay with the enemy, who invaded Victor-Emmanuel's territory within three days. By the following day French troops were in Turin. Victor Emmanuel joined his army on 1st May, and the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Genoa amid great enthusiasm on 12th May.

Immediately France was at war all opposition in the country faded away, and Frenchmen waited for

the glory which they were confident would soon crown the efforts of their magnificent army. The Emperor assumed the chief command, and, after a lapse of more than forty years, the person of a Napoleon was once more in the field. Such an occurrence roused the curiosity of the world, and the doings of the campaign were watched narrowly far beyond the limits of France. The Emperor was without experience in so high an office, but at the same time he was by no means destitute of military education. His *Manuel d'Artillerie* of earlier days had won the admiration of many competent critics. But it is one thing to write on the uses of artillery, and quite another to command a large army in the field matched against a first-class military power. So if men watched the dispositions of the new Napoleon with interest, they watched also with no little anxiety.

Before the French legions had time to concentrate, the Austrians, under General Count Giulay, were well inside the borders of Piedmont, and the armies of Victor Emmanuel were called upon to withstand the first shock of invasion. In two engagements, at Montebello on 20th May and Palestro on 30th May, they stood their ground. By the beginning of June the French army were ready, and on 4th June a portion of them, under the command of General MacMahon, were heavily attacked by the Austrians at Magenta. In the ensuing struggle the French gained the day, and took some 7,000 prisoners, while their losses were 600 killed, 3,000 wounded, and 700 missing. This victory opened the road to Milan, into which the King and the Emperor made a formal entry on 8th June, and were hailed as liberators by the populace. Thence Napoleon issued a proclamation

to all Italians, worded every bit as cleverly as his uncle's matchless proclamations, summoning all lovers of freedom to throw in their lot with Victor-Emmanuel. "Be soldiers to-day," were his stirring words; "to-morrow you will be citizens of a great country."

But the real struggle was yet to come. No one could prophesy which side would have the advantage, so evenly were the armies matched. On 24th June the Austrians brought to a stop the Franco-Italian advance to the west of the river Mincio. Taking their stand in front of this river, and supported in their rear by the four great fortifications called the Quadrilateral—Verona, Peschiera, Legnago, and Mantua—they determined to try their fortunes in a pitched battle. Then followed one of the most bloody battles of the age. The conflict raged for hours, and the issue hung in doubt to the very end.

This was the famous battle of Solférino, and it was indeed contested on historic ground to a Napoleon. In this district was fought a great part of the Italian campaign in 1796-97; the site of the memorable battle of Castiglioni lay only a few miles away; the great fortress of Mantua was within easy reach. Now once more, upon hills and fields and valleys stained by the blood of France and Austria sixty years before, the warriors of the new Napoleon faced the threatenings of the Austrian hosts. The centre of the Austrian position was fixed in Solférino village, about six miles in advance of the river Mincio, and at an equal distance to the south of the Lake of Garda. Verona and Mantua, with their powerful fortifications, lay respectively about twenty miles east and south of Solférino, and formed a handy place of

safety for the Austrian army in case of defeat; while, where the Mincio flows into the lake, the fortress of Peschiera guarded their rear. The contest was maintained with magnificent bravery on either side. The French attacked again and again, but could make no impression upon the defenders. About noon Napoleon thought he saw his chance, and launched the Imperial Guard in an overwhelming attack upon the Austrian centre, in the village of Cavriana, and forced it to fall back. This manœuvre gained the day, and, as it happened, was the turning-point in Italy's fight for freedom. During the night the Austrians, although both their wings had stood firm, withdrew their forces across the Mincio into the shelter of the Quadrilateral. Both sides sustained enormous casualties. The Austrians lost 21,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the Sardinians 5,500; and the French 13,500—a grand total of 40,500.

The victory of Napoleon, so narrowly gained, was hardly decisive, and all the world waited for the next move. But unexpectedly the Emperor, on his own responsibility, concluded an armistice on 8th July with Francis-Joseph. Victor-Emmanuel maintained himself with great dignity in face of this unexpected proceeding, which had the look of a betrayal; but Cavour, overcome by rage and chagrin, forced his resignation upon his sovereign. On the 12th the preliminaries of peace were signed between the three sovereigns at Villafranca. The conditions agreed upon, afterwards confirmed in the Treaty of Zurich, were that Austria abandoned Lombardy to Piedmont, but retained the Quadrilateral and Venetia, while the Italian states were to be formed into a federation under the presidency of

the Pope. This latter provision turned out to be unworkable, for Tuscany, Modena, and Parma immediately, by bloodless revolutions, threw in their lots with Piedmont. Napoleon refused to restore their rulers by force, and a deadlock ensued.

It so happened that Victor Emmanuel had signed the Peace of Villafranca subject to the condition which he appended to his signature, "*J'accepte pour ce qui me concerne.*" When, therefore, the people of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, and the Papal Legation of Bologna, refused to receive back their ancient rulers, and declared for union with Piedmont, he was free to negotiate. While Napoleon was hesitating how to act Cavour, who had returned to power, knowing his man, proposed to him the *plébiscite* as a remedy. The Emperor cordially agreed to this exercise of his favourite device, and the duchies declared unanimously for the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel, who shortly afterwards, when Naples had been won by the efforts of Garibaldi, assumed the title of King of Italy. If Italy were not "free from the Alps to the Adriatic," as Napoleon III. had promised, she was at any rate immeasurably nearer complete unity than any one had dared to hope. "The country must now be," said its sovereign, "not the Italy of the Romans, nor that of the Middle Ages, nor must it remain any longer a field open to foreign ambition, but rather must it be the Italy of the Italians."

Why did Napoleon make peace so stealthily and so suddenly? "Appalled by the carnage at Solférino," men said. But there were more solid reasons behind his decision. Prussia looked on in the north with a menacing eye, and had no intention of seeing Napoleon invading Austria proper. On the other

hand, the Empress and the Catholic party, fearful for the fate of the Pope, besought the Emperor to stay his hand after Magenta and Solférino. Nor was the Austrian monarch indisposed for a speedy peace, with the French and Italian victorious in front of him, and the Hungarian revolutionaries growling in his rear. Faced by these difficulties, and jealous of Prussian interference, Austria preferred to make peace on the best terms she could, and was thankful to retain any hold upon her Italian provinces. As it was, Venice and the dread Quadrilateral remained in her possession.

And what were the gains to France? In the first place, military glory. In a six weeks' campaign the French armies had overcome the forces of one of the great military powers of Europe. More than this, Napoleon had commanded in person, and by his speedy victory had shown to the world that the hand of Bonaparte had not lost its cunning. Paris proceeded to commemorate the campaign by bestowing the title of boulevard de Magenta upon her newest highway, and pont de Solférino upon her latest bridge. Napoleon had added fresh laurels to his imperial name, and fresh stability to his throne. But he had further designs. He had already sounded Victor Emmanuel as to the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. At the moment of the Peace of Zurich he did not press this scheme; but in 1860 he demanded these provinces from the new Italy in rectification of the Alpine frontier, now that a great Power lay to the south-east of France. By the Treaty of Turin (March 24, 1860), Victor Emmanuel agreed to the cession, subject to the consent of the Sardinian Parliament. Cavour, in sadness and melancholy, persuaded the

Piedmontese Parliament to surrender the two provinces, the original homeland of Victor Emmanuel's dynasty, the House of Savoy; and the inhabitants (who were more French in sympathy than Italian) declared for union with the Empire by means of the inevitable *plébiscite*.

So ended the sixth decade of the century. France was at the height of glory abroad and prosperity at home. Her Emperor had fought two campaigns abroad, and had twice dictated terms of peace to his enemies. By his efforts Italy was now well on the road to complete freedom, and France had incorporated two new departments into her territory. More than this, she was feared as the greatest military Power in Europe.

XI.

THE FALLING TIDE.

THE year 1860 was the high-water mark of the glory of the Second Empire. Before we trace out the ebbing tide, flowing out steadily from now onwards until the disaster of Sedan, let us look at a few typical imperial activities in the second half of that year. Napoleon, at the height of his prosperity and popularity, was a model of energy and industry.

July found the Emperor and the Empress Eugénie living quietly at Fontainebleau. On the 10th they left for St. Cloud, where a series of deputations from the agricultural and manufacturing interests waited upon Napoleon III. They were hospitably received, and their criticisms listened to with marked attention. A day or two later the Emperor paid a flying visit to the camp of Châlons, preparatory to his annual sojourn there. The Chambers were dissolved at the end of the month, when the army estimates were voted upon the basis of 600,000 men. At the moment the actual numbers comprised 470,000 actives, with 141,000 in the reserve.

On 2nd August a grand military review of the garrison of Paris was held before the Emperor in the bois de Boulogne. Napoleon left St. Cloud on

the 6th, and took up his quarters at Châlons, which he had made the first military camp in the world. Here, as usual, he mixed freely among his soldiers of all ranks, and was forward in every activity of camp life. For a few days he entertained as his guest the Duke of Baden. From Châlons, on the 23rd, the Emperor and Empress started on a grand tour of the provinces. They were received everywhere with the accustomed enthusiasm. In each town the mayor received their imperial Majesties, and with flattering words delivered up the keys of the place. At Dijon the mayor declared that the government of the Emperor "had carried the prestige of the country to a dazzling height." At Lyons, in reply to the mayor's speech of welcome, the Emperor said: "Nothing will make me deviate from the path of moderation and justice which I have followed, and which maintains France on the height of grandeur and prosperity which Providence has assigned her in the world. Therefore give yourselves up with confidence to the works of peace."

Next, the provinces of Nice and Savoy, so recently voted into the Empire, were visited. Aix, Chambéry, and Annecy expressed their pleasure at receiving the honour of a visit from their sovereign, and at the last-named place the mayor, in presenting the keys, thus apostrophized the Emperor: "Our country has an imperious duty of gratitude to fulfil towards your Majesty, whose firm and powerful hand has known how to bring it back into the bosom of the mother country, while sparing it the pain and shame of mutilation. May that hand be constantly blessed by every one having a Savoyard heart! Deign, Sire, to accept the keys of our town, which I present

to you. They ought to have been offered to your Majesty by the whole population, who justly consider the presence of their new sovereign in the midst of them as the last and solemn ratification of the inviolability of their wishes. . . . *Vive l'Empereur ! Vive l'Impératrice ! Vive le Prince Impérial !*”

The 1st of September found Napoleon at Chamonix, the 4th at Grenoble ; on the 9th, Sunday, he heard Mass at Marseilles in the morning, and held a grand review at 2 p.m. The next day the Emperor replied to the greetings of the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce. “The banquet offered by the Chamber of Commerce,” he said, “gives me the happy opportunity of publicly thanking the city of Marseilles for the warm reception it has given to the Empress and myself. The unanimous demonstrations of attachment which we have received since the commencement of our journey touch me deeply, but do not make me more proud ; for my only merit has been to have full faith in Divine Providence, as well as in the patriotism and good sense of the French people. It is this intimate union between people and sovereign which constitutes our strength at home as well as abroad, and which has enabled us, notwithstanding great difficulties, never to pause in our progressive march. . . . I drink to the health of the city of Marseilles.” Thence their Majesties passed on by sea to Toulon and Nice and Corsica. On 15th September they left Ajaccio for Algiers ; where, owing to rough weather, they did not arrive until the 17th. Here a great welcome awaited them, and that same day the Bey of Tunis was received in audience, while on the morrow the brother of the Sultan of Morocco visited Napoleon III.

At Algiers the progress came to an end, for here news reached the Empress of her sister, the Duchess of Alba, who had died at Paris on the 10th. The Emperor and Empress recrossed the Mediterranean to Perpignan, and by 22nd September were once more at home at St. Cloud, in the midst of their ordinary avocations.

Already, however, despite the outward glitter, not a few prophets, within France and without it, declared that the Empire had no real root, and its early dissolution was inevitable. The absorbing interest of Napoleon III. as old age approached was to ensure the certainty of the Prince Imperial succeeding to the throne of France. The Emperor, therefore, began to take steps to associate the people more intimately with the government of their country. If the prince succeeded to a heritage of autocracy he would be obliged to use all the shifts and repression his father had employed to keep himself on the throne. Should he find, instead, a popular constitutional monarchy, such as Queen Victoria enjoyed in England or Victor Emmanuel in Italy, his future would be more assured. A new measure of liberty was granted to the legislature by Napoleon in the November of 1860. As this policy, coupled with the Emperor's Italian policy, was extremely distasteful to the Empress, she left the country while it was being established.

What were the concessions volunteered by Napoleon III. ? The text of the imperial decree runs as follows :—

“ Napoleon, by the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French : to all whom these

presents may concern, greeting,—Wishing to give to the great bodies of State a more direct participation in the general policy of our Government, and a striking testimony of our confidence, we have decreed, and do hereby decree, as follows :—

“ Art. 1. The Senate and the Legislative Body shall vote every year, at the opening of the session, an address in reply to our Speech.

“ 2. The address shall be discussed in presence of the Government Commissioners, who shall give to the Chamber all necessary explanations as to the home and foreign policy of the Empire.

“ 3. In order to facilitate the expression of the opinion of the Legislative Body in the making of the laws and the exercise of the right of amendment, Art. 54 of our decree of March 22, 1852, is again put in force, and the regulation of the Legislative Body is modified in the following manner: ‘Immediately after the distributions of the bills, and on a day fixed by the President, the Legislative Body, before naming its committee, shall hold a secret sitting, at which a summary discussion shall be opened, in which the Government Commissioners will take part. The present clause is not applicable either to bills of local interest or to cases of urgency.’

“ 4. For the purpose of rendering more prompt and more complete the reproduction of the discussions of the Senate and of the Legislative Body, the following *senatus consultum* shall be presented to the Senate: ‘The reports of the sittings of the Senate and of the Legislative Body drawn up by the reporters placed under the authority of the president of each Assembly shall be sent every evening to all the journals. The debates of each sitting shall also

be reproduced by shorthand writing, and inserted *in extenso* in the official journal of the next day.'

"5. During the continuance of the Sessions the Emperor will appoint Ministers without portfolio to defend before the Chambers, in concert with the President and the members of the Council of State, the bills brought forward by the Government.

"Done at the Palace of the Tuileries the 24th November 1860.

"(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

"(Countersigned)

WALEWSKI.'

The privileges offered seem ludicrously small—the right of address to the Crown, of interrogating Ministers, of criticizing bills, and of a limited publicity of debate; but in the Second Empire they were concessions of unheard-of magnitude. It will be noticed that there is no Ministerial responsibility offered, nor can the Chambers overturn the Government. Nevertheless, as men saw at the time, this decree represented an entire change of front upon the part of the Emperor, and was destined not merely to modify the government of Napoleon, but ultimately to overturn it. The action of the Emperor was logical enough; but, unfortunately for him, liberty was incompatible with the name and dynasty of Napoleon.

Once embarked upon the Liberal Empire, there was for Napoleon III. no turning back. Each concession he yielded he could never regain, save by another *coup d'état*. Yet some of his advisers, such as the duc de Morny and the duc de Gramont, were not without hope that the decree of November would

actually strengthen his position, since for the failures of the Government, Ministers, and not the Emperor himself, would most easily be made scapegoat. In the meantime a great many business men in the *Conseil d'Etat*, and the other legislative bodies, were uncomfortable at the result of the commercial treaty made with England in 1860. And, further than that, the enormous debts incurred on public works began to be a source of anxiety. In less than twenty years £150,000,000 was spent on improvements in Paris alone. The Emperor, therefore, decreed, on November 14, 1861, that the *Corps Législatif*, instead of voting the Budget as a whole, should be allowed to subdivide the expenditure into various sections. The final review of these apportionments, however, remained in the imperial hands. At this time, also, Napoleon renounced his right to borrow money when the Chambers were not sitting, and promised that in future no great projects for public works should be presented for his approval unless previously countersigned by the Minister of Finance.

While the position at home was rapidly changing, Napoleon began to turn his thoughts once more towards foreign affairs. Mexico was the scene of his next exploit. The Mexican project was "the great idea" of his reign, and its disastrous failure did more than anything else to discredit the Emperor of the French. For forty years that unhappy country in Central America had been torn by internal factions; since 1859 a rebellion, or rather a civil war, had been in progress, and the European creditors of Mexico began to be alarmed about their investments, in the financial crisis caused by the revolution. England, France, and Spain therefore de-

cided, on October 31, 1861, to send a joint expedition "to demand from the Mexican authorities more efficacious protection for the persons and properties of their subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their Majesties by the republic of Mexico." The troops dispatched were scarcely a very numerous body, or calculated to do more than threaten the quarrelsome Mexicans; there were 6,000 Spaniards, 2,500 French, and about 700 English marines. England and Spain soon wearied of the expedition, made the best terms they could, and withdrew their forces. But Napoleon acted differently; it had been evident for some time that he was at work upon some audacious scheme, and his allies considered themselves well out of it. The Emperor's plan was to turn this wild and turbulent country into a Latin empire on the continent of America. Such a proceeding, if successful, would bring fresh glory to the imperial dynasty; and it would strengthen the Second Empire to have a sister empire, an exact model of the French Empire, in the New World. Napoleon hoped that he would thus rally the Opposition to his side, and that the French Catholics would be pleased by the prospect of a new Catholic Power in the world.

The Mexican Empire is generally believed to have been due to the initiative of the Empress Eugénie; but whoever suggested it, Napoleon carried the plan out with very persistent energy. A large expeditionary force was assembled in France in 1862, and dispatched to Mexico under the command of General Florey. Forty thousand of the best of the troops of the empire, the pick of the veterans of the Crimea and Italian campaigns, were once more engaged in the

grim realities of war. Nor was their task an easy one—the Liberal Vice-President Juarez was no mean opponent. However, in May 1863, these warriors captured Puebla, and on 10th June General Bazaine entered Mexico itself. A month later an assembly of Catholic notables proclaimed the Archduke Maximilian, the youngest brother of the Emperor Francis-Joseph of Austria, Emperor of Mexico. On 3rd October a Mexican deputation waited on the archduke at Miramar, and formally offered the crown. “Although,” said Maximilian in reply, “the mission of maintaining the independence and welfare of Mexico on a solid foundation and with free institutions is a most noble one, I must nevertheless, in accordance with the views of the Emperor Napoleon, declare that the monarchy cannot be re-established on a legitimate and firm basis without the spontaneous expression of the wishes of the whole nation. I must make my acceptance of the throne dependent on a *plébiscite* of the whole country.” These conditions were accepted, though somewhat reluctantly, and after a long series of negotiations, Maximilian sailed for Mexico in April 1864. He landed at Vera Cruz on 28th May, and arrived in his capital on 12th June.

For the time being all promised well, and Napoleon spoke proudly of the expedition at the opening of the Chambers in November 1863. After detailing progress at home he turned to Mexico. “Have faith, then,” he exclaimed, “in our enterprises beyond the sea. Commenced to vindicate our honour, they will terminate by the triumph of our interests.”

Once in Mexico, Maximilian played his part with great steadfastness. The only authority he pos-

sessed was that inspired by the presence of the French garrison. In the north Juarez was at the head of a considerable army of outraged patriots; in the south, Porfirio Diaz. Worse than all, the Mexican scheme was unpopular in France, and victory in the American War was inclining towards the North. Directly the North triumphed, the American Government indicated to the Emperor Napoleon that they viewed with grave concern the presence of a foreign army in Mexico, and that it was the affair of Mexico herself to choose her own government. This was no empty threat, for the United States possessed at the moment the largest and most experienced army in the world. There was, therefore, nothing left for it but the withdrawal of the French army. It was a bitter moment for the Emperor when he announced these tidings to the Chambers. "The Government of the United States comprehended that want of conciliation would have prolonged the occupation and embittered relations which, for the welfare of both countries, should remain friendly" (February 12, 1867).

Unwilling to give in, Maximilian bravely stuck to his post; and his wife, the Empress Charlotte, went off to Europe to lodge a final appeal *ad misericordiam* with Napoleon himself. In August 1866 she arrived at Paris. At the moment Napoleon was taking the waters at Vichy, but he hurried back to St. Cloud on learning of her arrival. The Mexican Empire was now faced with ruin. Directly Napoleon withdrew his troops the whole fabric would tumble to the ground. Yet withdraw those troops he must; the demands of the United States were imperative, and brooked no delay. The Emperor would have given much to satisfy the miserable woman, but to

continue the Mexican garrison would have cost him war with the United States, and, perhaps, the loss of his own crown. In answer to the frantic appeals of the Empress Charlotte, he could only reiterate the advice that her husband should abdicate and return to Europe.

After the French garrison was withdrawn from Mexico Maximilian was left in a desperately hazardous position (March 1867). He raised an army for the defence of his shadowy empire, and presented a resolute front to his enemies—they could hardly be called his subjects. Unfortunately he was persuaded to put forth an order declaring that all resisting his authority in arms would be shot. Under this ill-advised proclamation he put to death the Mexican general Ortega. But, despite all his bravery and activity, the venture could end in nothing less than absolute failure. Marshal Prim had told Napoleon, as long ago as March 1863, that Maximilian's power would never survive the departure of the French army. His words proved only too true. Less than two months after the embarkation of Bazaine's troops, Maximilian was betrayed into the hands of Juarez, and shot out of revenge for Ortega's death. The news reached Paris in the very midst of the splendid festivities in honour of the foreign royalties assembled for the second international exhibition (June 29, 1867). This, then, was the end of the "great idea" of Napoleon's reign. The empire of Mexico? It was overturned. The Emperor of Mexico? He was murdered. The Empress? She became a raving lunatic. And France? She never recovered her lost prestige.

It was the Emperor Napoleon's misfortune, while in the midst of the Mexican business, to become

embroiled in a fresh adventure in foreign politics. Poland, which had saved France in the great Revolution, was one of those oppressed nations whose miseries aroused the sympathies of the French common people. During Louis-Philippe's reign and the Second Republic it had occasioned serious rioting in the capital, and Napoleon III.'s doctrine of nationalities ever inclined him to interfere on behalf of all suffering peoples. When, therefore, in the latter part of 1863, a fresh Polish insurrection took place, the Emperor seized the opportunity. On 4th November he addressed a personal letter to each of the sovereigns of Europe, suggesting that the Polish question in particular, and other similar international disputes, should be referred to a new European Conference, pointing out that the settlements arranged at the Congress of Vienna had long since broken down. "Called to the throne," he wrote, "by Providence and the will of the French people, but trained in the school of adversity, it is, perhaps, less allowable for me than another to ignore the rights of sovereigns and the legitimate aspirations of peoples. Thus I am ready, without a preconceived system, to carry into an international congress the spirit of moderation and justice, ordinarily the portion of those who have endured so many trials."

The generosity of these words was only surpassed by the vagueness of their application. Queen Victoria handed the letter to the Foreign Office, which, with characteristic English bluntness, instantly wrote and asked the Emperor what topics he proposed for discussion, and what power he looked to to enforce any decisions of the congress. Compelled to define his programme, Napoleon diffidently

suggested Poland, Italy, Denmark, and the Danube as a basis of negotiation. To these adumbrations Lord John Russell replied that Great Britain saw no prospect of agreement. England, therefore, held aloof. Prussia, Austria, and Russia accepted the invitation, provided that preliminary settlements were arranged before the congress met. The smaller nations accepted unreservedly, in the hope of gain; while the Sultan of Turkey announced his intention of being present in person. But in face of the hostile attitude of England and the qualified support of other great Powers, the project of Napoleon III. for pacific reconstruction of Europe fell through. The plan was bold and noble, but it was impracticable. Nations seldom shape their policies on the basis of abstract right, much less on the prognostications of political idealism. No useful purpose was served by the Emperor Napoleon's appeal; on the contrary, it raised doubts as to his practical wisdom and sagacity. When the Mexican Empire was tumbled into the dust these hesitating doubts were turned into certainties, and the Emperor of the French, hitherto accounted so eminent a diplomatist, became a fallen idol. But so far, at least, Napoleon was right—every one of those international problems which he had sought to deal with by peaceful means was in less than fifteen years settled by the expenditure of blood and treasure.

XII.

BISMARCK.

“ IT was twilight at Varzin, and he was sitting, as was his wont after dinner, by the stove in the large back drawing-room, where Rauch’s statue of ‘Victory casting Wreaths’ is set up. After having sat silent for a while, gazing straight before him and feeding the fire now and anon with fir-cones, he suddenly began to complain that his political activity had brought him but little satisfaction and few friends. Nobody loved him for what he had done. He had never made any one happy thereby, he said; not himself, nor his family, nor any one else. Some of those present would not admit this, saying ‘that he had made a great nation happy.’ ‘But,’ he continued, ‘how many have I made unhappy! But for me, three great wars would not have been fought; eighty thousand men would not have perished; parents, brothers, sisters, and widows would not be bereaved and plunged into mourning. . . . That matter, however, I have settled with God. But I have had no joy from all my achievements—nothing but vexation, care, and trouble.’” *

In these words Bismarck’s chronicler describes an incident in the Chancellor’s life in 1877. There are

* Busch: *Our Chancellor*, E.T., Vol. I., p. 114.

few biographies written which present the subject with greater vividness than Busch's *Our Chancellor*, which in a sub-title he modestly calls "Sketches for a Historical Picture." In such a passage as the one we have just quoted, an admirably lifelike portrait of the "man of blood and iron" is presented. Upon the canvas we see the Chancellor grim, melancholy, determined; mindful of his great deeds, yet brooding over their cost in blood and misery; confessing that three great wars in one decade, with all their attendant horrors, were forced on by him, while at the same moment declaring that he has settled the matter with God. All the traits in Bismarck's character are before us at a glance—the determination, the relentless action, the disregard for consequences, the tyrannical arrogance, the gloomy philosophy, the conviction that his actions are justified by that strange Old Testament sort of God he was wont to worship.

It was Bismarck who took the measure of Napoleon, flattered him, wheedled him, bluffed him, cheated him, and finally beat him to his knees in the weaver's cottage on the Donchery road. The policy of Bismarck when he assumed office in September 1862 was clear-cut and definite. Austria must be replaced by Prussia as the centre of influence among the German peoples, and she must be made to pay for the humiliation inflicted upon Prussia by the Vienna diplomatists in the years 1848–50. Nothing less than war could achieve this object. Prussia must, therefore, instantly begin military preparations upon the grandest scale.

Yet when Bismarck took up the office of Minister in Prussia the outlook was anything but encouraging. Torn by the factions which rent the country, King William was on the verge of abdication—that same

William who was one day to become the first Emperor of Germany, and to go down to history as "William the Great." Prussian public opinion was hostile to any war of aggression. But from the moment Bismarck took charge a great change came over affairs. After the failure of an initial attempt to win over the Liberal majority in the House of Representatives to his side, he continuously disregarded them for the future, and, with the support of the King, ruled the country with a rod of iron. The government of the country was conducted with an arbitrariness every whit as autocratic as the government of France or Russia. He silenced the Press, and by skilful spoon-feeding turned every newspaper into an advocate of his relentless policy. With the support of the King and army, and with a Press which had been brought to heel, the great Minister was free to work out his bold schemes. One thing alone served as a check upon him—the hostile Liberal majority in Parliament. Means were found to overcome this opposition by the expulsion of every Liberal in office. In place of these were installed functionaries favourable to the policy of Bismarck.

Bismarck's strength lay in his clearness of view, his singleness of purpose, his absolute unscrupulousness. Prussia must be aggrandized, Austria must be humbled. To ensure this result no chance must be neglected, and no obstacle be permitted to stand in the way. Whenever Napoleon III. came into touch with Bismarck he underwent defeat, because he failed to grasp fully the significance of the Chancellor's aims. Napoleon played his hand for the advantage of France. He did not see that Bismarck, far from merely endeavouring to check him, was

aiming at far higher stakes, based on his policy of rendering Prussia pre-eminent in Germany and Germany on the continent of Europe. The two, therefore, were playing at cross purposes; but while Bismarck knew this, Napoleon, if he did not fail to recognize it, at any rate failed to attach sufficient importance to it. A strange comedy was enacted between these two schemers, and every act redounded to the advantage of the Minister and the discomfiture of the Emperor. Not only did Napoleon fail signally to estimate truly the character and policy of his opponent, but whenever a decision had to be made, he was invariably out in his calculations. When the North and South were at war in America, the French Emperor had made up his mind the Confederates would win; they lost, and the price Napoleon had to pay was his being unceremoniously hustled out of Mexico. The same fatal mistakes appeared in all his rivalries with Germany. In the Austro-Prussian War the keynote of French policy was the assumed superiority of Austria. In the event, Prussia came out victorious, and Napoleon found himself out in the cold when the spoils came to be divided. So also in the grand catastrophe of 1870, the hope of France lay in the co-operation of the South German states and of the Austrians, both of whom Napoleon believed to be only waiting their time to wreak vengeance upon the overweening pride of the hated Prussians.

We can best trace the genesis of the Franco-Prussian War by a brief survey of Bismarck's policy in Germany. Historians now know, and Bismarck himself admitted it, that the war was no chance conflagration, but a struggle long foreseen and carefully prepared for by the Prussian Minister. It was no

accident, but the result of Bismarck's deliberate policy. After the discomfiture of Austria, Prussia became supreme in Germany. But the Chancellor had a greater aim than this : he meant a united Germany itself to be the greatest Power upon the European continent. This result could only be brought about by a war involving the prostration of France. As long as Napoleon, with his boasted military power, remained upon the Rhine frowning across at the rising star of Germany, and opposed to a united Teutonic nation, Germany could never feel safe in her new dignity and influence. The sword of Damocles hung threateningly above her head all the while. Before Bismarck's political edifice could receive the coping-stone, that sword must be removed. This could only be achieved at the cost of a life-and-death struggle with France. In such a conflict Bismarck believed the odds would be on his side. Sooner or later he must make the plunge on which all depended. Until his hour came, he bluffed and cajoled Napoleon. When the time came, he struck with all his might, and the victory surpassed his expectations.

Denmark, which had disturbed the peace of Europe in 1848, was the first of the problems with which the Prussian Chancellor was called upon to deal. The Danish kings, urged on by their *amour propre*, still tinkered away with the recalcitrant duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. On March 30, 1863, Frederick VII. promulgated a new constitution, incorporating the duchy of Schleswig into the monarchy of Denmark, and curtailing the liberties of Holstein. His action was clean contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of London, which had ended the Prusso-Danish War of 1848-50. Austria and Prussia, the two great

Powers in Germany, as signatories to the treaty, immediately demanded the withdrawal of the new edict. A direct refusal was returned. While matters were in this electric condition Frederick died on 15th November, and the Germans waited to see what would be the effect of this change. In point of fact, the situation remained unaltered, for Christian IX. soon made it clear that he adhered to the policy of his predecessor. Thereupon Prince Frederick of Augustenburg came forward and claimed the sovereignty of the duchies as by hereditary right. This was Bismarck's opportunity. What he meant to do was, biding his time, to add Schleswig-Holstein to the territory of Prussia. There were, however, many difficulties to be overcome before this could be accomplished without disturbing the neutrality of the great Powers—England, France, and Russia. And, above all, he had to meet the jealousy of Austria.

Meanwhile the Liberal majority in the Prussian Lower House demanded the execution of a resolution of the German Confederation in favour of war with Denmark. King William himself sympathized with the claims of Augustenburg. Faced by all these difficulties, Bismarck took his stand upon the Danish violation of the Treaty of London; and, ostensibly to enforce the treaty, an Austro-Prussian army took possession of the duchies in December 1863. This proceeding prevented opposition from France and England, and was a bid for the support of the Prussian Liberals. These latter, however, suspicious of Bismarck's policy, and believing he would hand back the duchies to Denmark when she had been forced to adhere to the Treaty of London, refused supplies. The Minister was equal to the occasion, and pro-

ceeded for the future without consulting Parliament. By June 29, 1864, all the mainland of Denmark was in the hands of the German troops, and on 1st August the Danes made peace, yielding up the coveted provinces to Prussia and Austria. Before this came about, Bismarck had cunningly offered terms to Augustenburg which he knew would be refused. Referring Augustenburg's claims to the opinion of the Prussian Crown lawyers, Bismarck, with the consent of King William, established in the conquered states as a temporary expedient a provisional government, jointly administered by Austria and Prussia. It was obvious that, sooner or later, they would be incorporated into Prussia, whose borders they adjoined. Austria looked on with a watchful eye, jealous of the aims of Bismarck. A definitive peace with Denmark was concluded on October 27, 1864.

What had Napoleon been doing all this time? At the moment he was fully engaged in the Mexican business, and was disinclined for any military operations in Europe. Engrossed in the prospect of a new empire on the French model beyond the waters of the Atlantic, the Emperor showed less than his usual keenness for the advantage of France by the tortuous paths of diplomacy. Further than this, he personally sympathized with the woes of the two German duchies in their hatred of their Danish masters. Lord John Russell proposed to him, in January 1864, an alliance against the aggressive policy of Prussia in Schleswig-Holstein, but was met by a definite refusal. M. Drouyn de l'Huys wrote to the English Minister in reply that the Emperor "recognizes the importance of the Treaty of London so far as it aims at the maintenance of the

equilibrium and peace of Europe. Fully approving of that object, the French Government, however, is of opinion that circumstances call for some alterations of the treaty. The Emperor has always been disposed to afford great consideration to the feelings and aspirations of nationalities. It cannot be ignored that the national feelings and desires of Germany are inclined towards a closer union with the Germans of Schleswig-Holstein. . . . Schleswig and England lie far apart. But the territories of Germany and France touch, and a war between those Powers would be the most calamitous and risky business the Emperor could possibly enter upon. Besides, the Emperor cannot forget he has been made the object of mistrust and suspicion in Europe, on account of his alleged projects of aggrandizement upon the Rhine." Napoleon therefore, by his own act, threw away the chance of humbling Prussia with England as ally. He put his dreams of nationality before his dread of Prussian aggrandizement. He stood aside while Bismarck waged the first of the "three great wars which but for him would not have been fought." Bismarck had played his first trick—and won.

Although Bismarck's skilful diplomacy had secured the co-operation of Austria in the Danish War, Austrian public opinion was increasingly jealous of the growing influence of Prussia. Count Rechberg, the Foreign Minister in Vienna, was forced to resign, and Count Mensdorf assumed the vacant office. The Austrian Government again set itself to win over the support of the lesser South German kingdoms, ever jealous of Prussia, to whom the Schleswig-Holstein proceedings had been eminently distasteful.

War with Prussia loomed up upon the horizon. Augustenburg, rejected in Berlin, was surreptitiously encouraged at Vienna. When things looked at their worst, and war appeared inevitable and close at hand, a final attempt at a peaceful settlement of the Austro-Prussian differences was made, and succeeded. By the Convention of Gastein (August 14, 1865) Schleswig was handed over to the administration of Prussia, and Holstein placed under Austrian jurisdiction. No mention was made of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg; this question, as well as the ultimate destiny of the two duchies, was left untouched. It was clear Prussia was only waiting until she could annex the former Danish territories, though for the moment she was unready to carry out her intentions at the point of the sword. Meanwhile Prussian public opinion recognized slowly that Bismarck intended not the restoration of Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark, but the addition of the twin duchies to Prussia; consequently that attitude of suspicion under which the Minister had laboured since he assumed office in 1862 was gradually dispelled, and a united Prussia was ready to lend aid to the ministerial propaganda.

Bismarck knew perfectly well that the success of his policy depended upon the humiliation of Austria in the field, and therefore, though he stayed his hand and avoided an armed conflict for the time being, began military preparations which would ensure the success of the Prussian forces. Before he could venture into war it was essential to ascertain what the Emperor Napoleon thought about the matter, and to secure his neutrality. Accordingly, in October 1865, the Chancellor visited Napoleon III.

at Biarritz, and cleared up the situation. No account of this interview has been made public, but the outcome of it is well known. Napoleon believed the victory in the coming struggle would incline towards Austria, and he calculated upon interfering at the critical moment, and dictating terms to the belligerents that would secure compensations in favour of France and Italy. His jealousy of Austria had not lessened since the victories of 1859, and he was on this account the more ready to listen to the Prussian Minister's overtures. He was prepared, therefore, to lend diplomatic support to Prussia, and promised to abstain from armed interference. On his part, Bismarck played upon the feelings of the French Emperor by hinting vaguely at some territorial concessions to France as the price of her neutrality. Napoleon, who had consolidated his Alpine frontier at the expense of Italy, had every wish to strengthen his position upon the Rhine at the expense of Prussia. Bismarck was careful to commit himself to nothing definite, and went away assured of Napoleon's neutrality. As to the cession of the Palatinate or other territory, he had not the least intention of any such thing, believing when he had beaten Austria he would be strong enough to resist Napoleon's importunate demands. So for a second time Napoleon III. fell into Bismarck's trap, and was made to lend himself to connivance at the second of the three great wars of Prussian aggression. Again he failed to grasp the real intentions of his redoubtable opponent.

To make the victory of Prussia even more sure, Herr von Bismarck next turned his gaze towards Italy; and at length, on April 8, 1866, by the help

of the Emperor Napoleon, an alliance was concluded at Berlin with Victor Emmanuel, pledging Italy, in the event of the outbreak of war between Prussia and Austria within three months, to come to the help of Prussia. The price of Italian support was the wresting of Venice from the Austrian yoke, and its incorporation into the kingdom of Italy. When these proceedings became known at Vienna an attempt, through the mediation of Napoleon III., was made to buy off the Italians by an offer of the immediate cession of Venice; feeling bound in honour to abide by the treaty with Prussia, Victor Emmanuel declined these overtures, and preferred to gain by the sword what he was tempted to secure peacefully at the cost of his own good faith. Even when the war was in progress Italy refused to make a separate peace with Austria, although the province of Venice was offered as the price of her compliance. Bismarck handsomely acknowledged this honourable conduct of Italy in Parliament on December 20, 1866, when he said, "We had a powerful support in the unshakable fidelity of Italy—fidelity which I cannot sufficiently praise, and whose value I cannot too highly appreciate. The Italian Government resisted most energetically the temptation to abandon the alliance on account of Austria's gift."

No diplomat ever possessed so amazing a facility of putting his opponent in the wrong as Count Bismarck. He secured his will in Denmark by offering conciliatory terms, sure that the zeal of the Eider-Dane party would reject them, as in the event they did. The crown of Schleswig-Holstein was offered to Prince Frederick of Augustenburg upon conditions which Bismarck knew would be declined.

When Augustenburg refused, the Chancellor calmly set him aside, with the permission of the duke's own sympathizer, King William of Prussia. Now Bismarck had laid his train against Austria, the powder was ready and plentiful; but he was determined the match should be applied by Austria. And time pressed, for to secure the co-operation of Italy war must ensue within three months from April 8, 1866. The two rivals all the while piled up huge quantities of stores and ammunition, polished up their weapons, and mobilized their forces. Napoleon III. came forward as usual with his proposals for a European conference. Bismarck agreed, though reluctantly. Austria refused.

The strain upon her finances caused by the mobilization began to tell upon Austria in June 1866, and Bismarck steadily refused to come to any definite decision upon the future of the disputed duchies. At last the Austrian Ambassador to the German Confederation at Frankfurt proposed to the Confederation that, as Prussia would not come to a settlement over Schleswig-Holstein or recognize Augustenburg, they should settle the matter themselves. Instantly Bismarck seized this opportunity. He pointed out that the Convention of Gastein had settled the matter between Austria and Prussia, and the appeal to the Confederation was therefore a violation of the Convention. German troops were promptly marched into Holstein, which had been entrusted to Austria at Gastein, and on 11th June Austria, as Bismarck had calculated on, declared war, and thus appeared before the world as the aggressor. In little more than three weeks—on 3rd July—the issues were decided in the overwhelming Austrian

defeat at Königgrätz, or Sadowa. The very next day the Emperor Francis-Joseph telegraphed to Napoleon, requesting his good offices as mediator, and ceding to him the province of Venice, which he had previously promised. The French Emperor found his position by no means an easy one. He was not ready for war, and in consequence could scarcely hope to gain any substantial advantage for France in the coming peace. Bismarck intimated to him that in the event of his active interference he would find the whole of Germany to a man opposed to their hereditary foe. A Russian proposal for a peace conference the Prussian Minister rejected, and plainly told Paris and St. Petersburg that he would sooner put every man in Germany in arms than yield to coercion from outside. In the event, then, peace was concluded directly between the two belligerents at Prague on 24th August, and on mild terms. The North German Confederation was renewed, the South German frontier rectified at the expense of Austria, and Bismarck promptly secured himself against the South German kingdoms (whose sympathies lay with Austria) by an alliance against French aggression. This done without Napoleon's help, the French Emperor handed over Venice to Victor Emmanuel.

As we have seen, the Emperor of the French had reckoned on the victory of Austria, and had laid his plans accordingly. This calculation proved incorrect. Moreover, in the Treaty of Prague, Napoleon III. was ignored by the contracting parties, and, in face of the alarming increase of Prussian military power, he was not strong enough to intervene, and to exact by force "compensation" for this disturbance of the balance of power. Faced by a growing feeling of

uneasiness in France at this fresh state of things, the Emperor now attempted to obtain by diplomacy what he had failed to do by threat of force. In a famous cartoon of the day, *Punch* represented him as a rag-and-bone man seeking to collect the scraps that fell from the hands of Bismarck.

Through Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, Napoleon continued a series of negotiations with the Prussian Minister which had been initiated unsuccessfully some time before the war with Austria began. It is obvious that if the Emperor could wring no territorial concessions out of Prussia when she stood in need of France's support, or at least neutrality, against Austria, he stood even less chance of doing so after Austria had been beaten to her knees by that victorious Prussia which Napoleon dared not now oppose in the field. Yet with naïve simplicity he persisted in one demand after another at Berlin. Bismarck had been all smiles in the Biarritz conference, although, indeed, he had committed himself to no definite promise for the rectification of the Rhine frontier; and he was now reminded of the implied concessions, and invited to give to his benevolent neighbour a few trifles of his trans-Rhenish property out of his superfluity. The ink upon the parchment of Prague was scarcely dry when Benedetti opened the attack. On August 5, 1866, he presented his first proposals to the Berlin Foreign Office :—

I. The French Empire re-enters into possession of the territories, now belonging to Prussia, which were within her frontiers in 1814.

II. Prussia pledges herself to exact from Bavaria and Hesse the cession of the territories owned by

them on the left bank of the Rhine, in return for a money payment.

III. Luxembourg, a territory of the King of Holland, to be left out of the German Federation, and the Prussian garrison from the fortress of Luxembourg to be withdrawn.

The very next day, 6th August, Bismarck sent for Benedetti, and contemptuously rejected his demands. Pressed again, he talked of war, and requested the Ambassador to remind his imperial master that the war would probably be fought "with revolutionary weapons;" adding further that "the German dynasty would probably exhibit greater firmness than that of the Emperor Napoleon." M. de Benedetti set off shamefaced to Paris, the bearer of heavy tidings. Clearly, in face of the Minister's inflexible firmness, the negotiation could not succeed. Napoleon thereupon withdrew his proposals, giving as an excuse that the scheme had been extorted from him by his ministers during an attack of illness. All prospect of the extension of the French frontiers on the Rhine, from Belgium in the north to Switzerland in the south, was at an end.

On 20th August the French Emperor returned to the attack in Berlin with a fresh plan. This time, M. de Benedetti approached Bismarck in a confidential negotiation aimed at Prussian connivance in Napoleon's acquisition of Belgian Luxembourg. "First of all," ran Benedetti's instructions, "an avowed treaty allotting to us Luxembourg at the very least; then a secret convention settling the terms of an offensive and defensive alliance, and authorizing France to annex Belgium at the first favourable opportunity; lastly, a Prussian pledge to stand by us *vi et armis*."

The Minister received these new proposals with assumed amiability, and requested time for consideration. After some weeks of delay he took himself off from the capital, and remained out of sight until the end of the year. Meanwhile, M. Drouyn de l'Huys resigned from the Foreign Office on 2nd September, and was succeeded by the marquis de la Valette, formerly ambassador at Constantinople. By this time Napoleon, prompted by Count Benedetti, was already suspicious of the attitude of Prussia, and beginning to water down his scheme. In a Foreign Office circular of September 16, 1866, the project of German unity, which had been so clearly denounced in 1860 as inimical to French interests, was approved. "Prussia, augmented and emancipated from any kind of solidarity, ensures the independence of Germany. In this France need not see any shadow cast over herself. Proud of her admirable unity and indestructible nationality, she cannot oppose or condemn the work of fusion going on in Germany. . . . In imitating France it takes a step nearer to us, not farther from us." Nervously anxious to curry favour with Bismarck, Napoleon's old predilections for the doctrine of nationalities are seen here once again in direct opposition to the interests of France. But he took a fresh step towards his goal, while Bismarck still delayed, by opening up negotiations with the King of Holland for the sale of Luxembourg, "the road to Brussels," to France. Before men had become accustomed to write 1867 at the head of their notepaper, Napoleon had so far succeeded that the King of Holland was willing to sell this detached portion of his inheritance. A further advance was made when William of Prussia agreed not to oppose the trans-

action. When everything promised success, the Dutch Ambassador at Berlin suddenly, on 29th March, broached the matter to the Prussian Government without the knowledge or consent of France. By this time the German newspapers also had got wind of the matter, and a storm of opposition, no doubt inspired secretly by Bismarck, arose, which refused to countenance the negotiation aimed at the sale of the duchy of Luxembourg, a member of the North German Federation in certain particulars, to the Emperor Napoleon. Herr von der Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador at the French Court, in a threatening manner called upon the Paris Foreign Office, now in charge of M. Moustier, to disown the negotiations. Evidently the game was up, and on 8th April Napoleon caused Moustier to announce in the *Corps Législatif* that the French and Dutch monarchs had merely "exchanged ideas" on the Luxembourg question; nevertheless a loophole was left for a possible resumption of the negotiation when it was further declared that the negotiations "had not yet assumed an official character." The influence of Napoleon is seen in the concluding words: "True to the principles which have ever guided our policy, we never regarded the acquisition of this territory as possible, except under these conditions: The free consent of the Grand Duke (that is, the King of Holland), full consideration for the interests of the Great Powers, and the wish of the population, expressed by universal suffrage." Just as the French Emperor had appealed to the principle of nationalities in September, so now he adduced the principle, coupled with his favourite *plébiscite*, as a solution of the Luxembourg question. Eventually France saved her

face by the submission of the consideration of the future status of Luxembourg to a conference in London. The end of Busch's account of the negotiation reads very quaintly to-day: "War was honourably avoided, and Prussia's renunciation of her right of garrison in Luxembourg was fully balanced by the Powers' guarantee of that duchy's neutrality."

Outwitted over the Rhine frontier, defeated over Belgium, narrowly escaping over Luxembourg, the French Emperor, attracted like a moth to a candle, in the late spring of 1867 opened up a further negotiation with Bismarck. According to the publications of the Berlin Foreign Office, Benedetti now presented to the Chancellor in a revised form the proposals made on 20th August in the year before. As the price of a posthumous French support for the *fait accompli* of the North German Confederation, and Napoleon's countenancing an alliance between it and the South German states (which Bismarck had already accomplished on 18th March), Prussia was invited to connive at a French invasion of the territory of Belgium, and to countenance the cession of Luxembourg—the very project which Napoleon had just publicly disavowed. Here was an opportunity of putting his opponent in the wrong the Chancellor was not the man to let slip. Asking, as usual, time for consideration, he induced Benedetti to put his proposals in writing. As a consequence, he received a draft of the proposed treaty in the Ambassador's own handwriting, and upon French official notepaper. A definite answer was never given, and the French Emperor was left clinging to this last hope right up till the outbreak of the war of 1870. The moment war was declared by France, Bismarck sent

this incriminating document to the *Times*, and roused the anger of Europe against his enemy.

So ends the diplomacy of Napoleon III. in Europe. For the first half of his reign—1852 to 1862—Napoleon appeared as the terror of Europe. No important negotiation had any chance of success which did not secure his approval. But from the moment Herr von Bismarck took office in Prussia in 1862 Napoleon's star waned. A greater than he had arisen, though the Emperor was slow to recognize it. When at last the truth that he had been outwitted and outmanœuvred by the skill of the Prussian Minister dawned upon him, he exclaimed, "M. de Bismarck has hoodwinked me; a French Emperor cannot allow himself to be hoodwinked." But the mischief was done, and the opportunity gone by, never to return. Napoleon III. stood on the very edge of the fatal precipice, and his downfall was at hand. The third of Bismarck's three great wars was come.

XIII.

NEARING THE END.

THE year 1867 was the year of the second great Paris Exhibition. During the early summer the Emperor Napoleon and his beautiful wife entertained half the crowned heads of Europe in the French capital. Here, among others, came the Czar of Russia and King William of Prussia, with Count von Bismarck in his train, the Luxembourg business having just been settled amicably in the London conference. Music at the Opéra, balls at the Tuileries and St. Cloud, military reviews in the bois de Boulogne, were the order of the day. But this display of magnificence was only surface deep. At home the policy of the Emperor was meeting with increasing opposition—the Republican party gained in strength and numbers in every succeeding election; while abroad Bismarck was busily engaged in sharpening his sword and bur- nishing up his armour for the supreme test to which his policy must be put upon the battlefield. Even as he stayed in Paris, the guest of the imperial master of France, his thoughts were far away from the tinsel glories of the Exhibition. “I remember,” he said to Moritz Busch at Versailles in 1870, “when I was at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, I thought to myself, ‘How would it have been by now if we had fought

over the Luxembourg quarrel? Should I be in Paris, or the French in Berlin?' We were not nearly as strong then as we are now." As yet, however, the time was not ripe, and the Minister waited.

But if the Prussian menace was not for a few months more to turn into a titanic struggle between France and a united Germany, Napoleon had difficulties enough on hand at home. It will be remembered that in the late fifties a tiny group—ultimately called *les Cinq*—had been admitted as an opposition into the *Corps Législatif*; and in 1860 Napoleon had published an edict granting a show of constitutional government. These concessions hardly produced the desired effect. Men had understood what was meant when France had been governed by the Emperor for the people; but they began to wonder, if France was now to be governed by the people for the Emperor, what use the Emperor really was. The fact is, that Napoleon ever sought to get his own way in all affairs of state—and it was generally a wise way. Under an absolute monarchy he had been successful in this; but after he outwardly inclined towards constitutionalism in practice he still clung to his old autocracy. However, the Emperor's enemies were in no mind to forego the rights they could now legally claim in the government of their country. Each succeeding election left the Bonaparte party smaller and the Opposition stronger. Thus, in the 1863 elections, 5,308,254 votes were cast in favour of the imperial policy, and as many as 1,954,369—nearly forty per cent. of the Government total—for the Opposition. Not a single Government candidate was returned in Paris. The *cinq* were increased to thirty-five, representing all shades of anti-Bona-

partism — seventeen of them out-and-out republicans.

Amongst the supporters of Napoleon III. from the day of the *coup d'état* none were more able than his relative, the duc de Morny, and Count Walewski. It was the Emperor's misfortune to lose both of these strong men at the very time when their services would have been most useful. Morny had for some years acted as president of the Corps Législatif, and managed that body in his half-brother's interest with admirable skill. Endowed by nature with a charming presence and a courteous demeanour, he exercised a great fascination over all with whom he came into contact. His death occurred in March 1865. Count Walewski, who survived until 1868, was also, with Morny, one of the men of the *coup d'état*. On the foundation of the Second Empire he took charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and proved himself an admirable diplomatist. When the duc de Morny died, Walewski succeeded him at the Palais Bourbon, though he can hardly have been reckoned a success in the office, which he only held for a few months. Towards the end of his reign Napoleon relied more and more upon the help of M. Eugène Rouher, who, as the understudy of the Emperor, gained the nickname of the "vice-emperor." Born in the mountains of Auvergne, Rouher was a lawyer by profession. M. Pierre de Lano speaks slightly of him: "M. Rouher porta sa nature bourgeoise dans toute sa carrière politique." Originally a Liberal, afterwards concerned in the *coup d'état*, he had become a reactionary, and in 1863 Napoleon III. made him Minister of State in succession to Auguste Billault, often considered the most brilliant of all

the ministers of the Second Empire. Six years later, upon the abolition of the office of Minister of State, Rouher was made president of the Senate.

Early in 1866 a new party arose in the Corps Législatif. The Opposition deputies of the Left, led by Thiers with his persistent demand for the "indispensable liberties" of constitutional government, were reinforced by forty-five members, who separated themselves from the Imperialist Government and demanded free institutions from the Emperor. This party, strengthened by the adherence of Émile Ollivier, one of the Cinq, and a few others, became known as the Third Party. By March 19, 1866, it had succeeded in gaining a strength of sixty-three votes upon a division, and was clearly a force to be reckoned with. There were thus three parties in the Corps Législatif—the more extreme Imperialists or "Arcadians," led by Rouher; the moderate Imperialists of the "Third Party," led by Ollivier; and the thirty-five on the Left, comprising the Republican and anti-dynastic Opposition. Things soon settled down into a fight to the death between Rouher and Ollivier. Each desired to persuade the Emperor that his plan alone could save the Empire for France, and the throne for the Prince Imperial.

Napoleon III. was by this time very different from the energetic Prince-President of 1848. Ill-health had fastened upon him, and he was seldom free from physical pain. The rheumatism which the damp mists and marshy surroundings of the château of Ham had inspired asserted itself more and more. Every year, too, the Emperor was obliged by his physicians to go for a cure to some watering-place. In earlier days he went to Plombières, where he met

Cavour in 1858 ; but later he patronized the waters of Vichy, which he visited annually from 1861 onwards. Partly from reasons of State, partly from motives of delicacy, Napoleon never treated his physicians with candour ; from subsequent information it appears that he was suffering from a calculus in the vesica, which the taking of the Vichy waters aggravated rather than relieved. Baron Larrey, in a letter to the *Figaro* of February 8, 1886, disclosed that he had suspected this while the Emperor was ill at the camp of Châlons in August 1865 ; but Napoleon refused to submit to a proper medical examination. Experts even doubt whether what were called " his Majesty's rheumatic pains " in the *Moniteur* of August 18, 1869, were really due to rheumatism at all. By the time war broke out in 1870, Napoleon's physical condition was almost desperate ; the operation which was seen to be necessary in July 1870 was only postponed because of the grave political consequences that might ensue should the Emperor succumb under the knife.

No wonder things were going badly in the latter half of his reign. Manifestly, Napoleon was in no condition to act with the dash and boldness which had characterized his earlier days. He was not an old man in years, not yet sixty ; but all the lethargy of old age had crept over him, and he was unequal to the burden of ruling so difficult a nation as the French under those forms of empire which had once been so dazzling an attraction to his subjects. Napoleon, therefore, with all his old ideas, but without his old energy, was obliged to lean increasingly upon his Ministers. The losses of de Morny and Walewski greatly affected him, and were a grave

misfortune to his dynasty. Rouher gained his confidence increasingly, and in some of the difficult negotiations with Prussia over the Rhine, Belgium, and Luxembourg, dealt directly with Prince Bismarck, for whom he was no match, over the head of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was Rouher's policy to endeavour to gain over the Emperor to a revocation of the concessions of 1860, and to the restoration of the absolutist *régime*. Much as Napoleon trusted the "vice-emperor," he avoided any such mistake. Ollivier was delighted on January 19, 1867, when, on his own initiative, the Emperor put out a decree increasing the liberties granted to the Chambers in 1860. Hedged about by many formalities, the right of asking questions in Parliament was restored to the members, and it was announced that the Emperor might depute a minister to represent him both in the Corps Législatif and the Sénat. What was more important was a letter promising the introduction of two bills, by M. Rouher as Minister of State, restoring the freedom of the Press, and, under certain conditions, permitting the assembling of public meetings. A battle-royal immediately ensued between Ollivier, who welcomed these imperial concessions towards free institutions, and Rouher, who was the unwilling instrument of the Emperor. As a counterblast against the increased liberty of the Corps Législatif, the Minister of State induced the Senate to demand the power of reviewing all legislation. Thus the Senate became a reactionary Second Chamber, almost co-ordinate in power with the popular chamber. This done, Rouher proceeded to postpone the bills promised on January 19th. Ollivier replied in a speech full of bitter sar-

casm and wounded pride. But for the moment the "vice-emperor" had his master's ear.

Matters were gradually growing worse in France. Dissatisfaction with the imperial *régime*, or rather, perhaps, with Rouher's administration of it, became more pronounced. Socialist agitators in the large towns began a crusade on behalf of republicanism. The year 1868 opened very gloomily indeed. Many men believed that the end of the Second Empire was at hand; indeed, there are few things more remarkable than, in the light of what actually happened, reading the prognostications of the political prophets of those days. Each writer agreed that the end was near; no one of them knew by what means it would come. Thus, for example, Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Paris, wrote an account of Lord Cowley's visit to Fontainebleau: "He appears to have thought the Emperor aged, and to have found him much depressed. His Majesty said little of foreign politics, but spoke gloomily of his own position in France. He said that the country districts were still for him, but that all the towns were against him" (August 11, 1868). But there was one man who knew how the eclipse of the Second Empire would come about, and who held the hour-glass of time in his own keeping. That was the grim and determined Count Bismarck. Seeing at last the danger of the Prussian menace, Napoleon in the year 1868 began a reconstruction of the French armies on the advice of Marshal Niel, who, unfortunately, died before his scheme was carried out. Under it the period of service with the colours was now fixed at five years (instead of seven under the law of 1832), and a large reserve of *gardes mobiles* was created, consisting of all those

who, though liable to military service, had never been actually incorporated into the army. Despite the bitter hostility of the Opposition, the Chamber approved these reforms on February 1, 1868. "What!" exclaimed Jules Favre, "you want to make France into a vast barracks." "Take care," was Niel's prophetic reply, "that *you* do not make it into a vast cemetery."

To return to the Third Party. By 1868 they felt themselves strong enough to demand the passage of the bills giving liberty to the Press and upholding the right of public meeting which had been promised more than a year before. In this they succeeded. The former was passed on 11th May, the latter on 11th June. Instantly every activity of the empire was discussed in the public press, and demagogues discoursed upon the sins of the Emperor and the wealthy, upon religion and upon anti-religion, in every corner of France. The unrest was greatly increased when some Parisian workmen, going, according to universal French custom, to visit the graves of their dead on All Souls' Day (2nd November), discovered in the cemetery of Père Lachaise the tomb of the Socialist deputy Baudin, who had been killed in the bloodshed of the *coup d'état*. A newspaper subscription list was opened to provide a worthy monument to this half-forgotten "patriot." This was, of course, a flank attack upon the Empire; and the Government felt themselves bound to prosecute the newspaper concerned in the subscription. This prosecution is for ever memorable, because the brilliant defence of one of the culprits (Delescluze) brought a young lawyer, Léon Gambetta, for the first time under the public eye. The bitter attack

he launched forth on the Second Empire, and above all on the *coup d'état*, failed to save his client; but it made Gambetta a name to be conjured with and a man to be feared.

In May 1869 the general elections came round again. Keen disappointment fell upon the Government when the figures were published: 4,438,000 voted for them, and no less than 3,355,000 for the Opposition. The state of affairs was indeed alarming. Things had been sufficiently disquieting in 1863, when the Opposition polled less than 40 per cent. of the Government total; but now the Opposition received more than three-quarters as many votes as the Government, and nearly a half of the entire poll. The Third Party came out of the elections with greatly strengthened numbers; they now mustered 116 members instead of the 45 in the old Parliament. Nor did they delay in the exercise of their power. On 28th June they demanded from the Emperor the creation of constitutional rule. The Government were defeated in the Chamber; and Napoleon, making a virtue of necessity, issued the desired decree on 12th July. Important events took place the next day. The Corps Législatif was dissolved. The office of Minister of State, so long associated with the Second Empire, was suppressed, and Rouher turned over from it into the presidency of the Senate, where these constitutional changes were ratified in September.

There come times in politics as in daily life when the inevitable, put off and put off and put off again, must be faced. Although Rouher had gained a majority — a majority that in England, indeed, would be considered a handsome majority

—it was clear beyond all doubt that opinion in the country was rapidly moving towards constitutional freedom, and that the future lay with the party of Ollivier, and not with that of Rouher. Émile Ollivier was born at Marseilles in 1825, and survived until 1914. A lawyer by profession, like many eminent politicians, he had an amazingly rapid rise. When only twenty-three General Cavaignac appointed him Prefect of Marseilles in 1848. Upon the fall of Cavaignac he resigned office, and resumed his practice at the Parisian bar. In 1857 he was returned to the Corps Législatif as one of the original “five.” Elected in Paris as a Republican, and claiming to be the “ghost of the *coup d'état*”—that is, an ever-present terror to the Emperor—he soon modified his views. By 1863 he was visiting Egypt as an agent of Napoleon III. Helped by the friendship of de Morny and Walewski, he became a commissioner in the Suez Canal Company—a sinecure which was worth 30,000 francs a year, and the holding of which brought about his expulsion from the bar. In 1865 he was invited to dinner at the Tuileries by the Empress-Regent; on January 10, 1867, about five o'clock on a winter's afternoon, Émile Ollivier and Louis-Napoleon met face to face for the first time.

Although, therefore, the Third Party—the party of Ollivier—was hostile to the “vice-emperor,” its leader, nevertheless, was on friendly terms with the Emperor himself, and had accepted favours at Napoleon's hands. What the Third Party stood for was constitutional rule, pure and simple. But it is one thing to be a clever critic in Opposition, and quite another to bear the cares of office. At last, on January 2, 1870, Ollivier became what was prac-

tically the first Prime Minister of France under the Second Empire. So great was his popularity that he was the only Frenchman ever elected to the Academy unopposed. But the Premier found it very difficult to get together a government. On the extreme Right the Bonapartists, led by Rouher, were highly suspicious of him. Nor could he hope for any support from the Republicans of the Left. Eventually, after many failures, he formed a Cabinet, composed of four of his own party, four from the Moderates on the Left, and three Bonapartists from the old administration. Rouher and others now put into the Emperor's head the idea of a fresh lease of personal power by the instrumentality of the *plébiscite*. Ollivier, distrustful and doubtful, resisted this fresh project with all his might; but Napoleon was too much for him. The country was to be asked whether it approved of the constitutional changes recently introduced. The bogey of Socialism was put forward, as it had been in 1848 and 1851, as the enemy of all stable government. The Church was called upon to rally round the throne. In May 1870 the question was put to the country, and the Emperor was highly gratified by the result. When the votes of the *plébiscite* were counted there appeared 7,358,786 suffrages cast in favour of Napoleon's concessions and the continuance of his dynasty, while the Republicans and malcontents could only muster 1,571,939 "noes." It was clear that, despite the waning influence of Rouher's party, the country as a whole was content with the rule of Napoleon III. The ailing Emperor for the last time had the satisfaction of seeing the country rally to his call. One feature alone occasioned uneasiness: amongst the

“noes” were a large number of soldiers, especially those of the garrison of Paris.

We must now turn away from the internal concerns of the empire to see what was going on between France and Italy, and France and Austria. The campaign of 1859, planned by Napoleon and Cavour, had ended abruptly in the Peace of Villafranca, partly from the Emperor Napoleon's fear of Prussia, but more from the growing alienation of the Catholic party which his Italian policy had brought about. Ever since 1849 Pope Pius IX. had been maintained in his temporal power at Rome by the French troops which had originally occupied Rome under General Oudinot during Napoleon's presidency. Urged on by the Catholic party, his firm adherents in the early days of his power, and jealous of Austrian aggression in the Eternal City, Napoleon had then entered upon a reactionary policy from which afterwards, despite all his sympathy with the aspirations of Italian nationality, he had been unable to free himself. When it became clear after 1859 that the Italians meant to make Rome the capital of a united Italy, Napoleon, the friend of oppressed nationalities, owing to his engagements with his Catholic subjects was compelled to appear as the protector of a system which was in direct opposition to the wishes of the Italian people.

To make matters worse, the Emperor's moderation in 1859 had angered the Italians without satisfying the French Catholics. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, a model and saintly ecclesiastic but a political wire-puller, had, on January 16, 1860, in an open *Letter to a Catholic*, flung down the gauntlet to the Emperor, and the whole Catholic party, from Montalembert

(who had long since broken with Napoleon) to Veillot, rallied to the writer's support. When, in July 1861, Napoleon III. officially recognized the Italian kingdom united under the rule of Victor-Emmanuel, this ecclesiastical hostility increased more than ever, and the Minister of the Interior, de Persigny, was obliged to enter upon reprisals when the Bishop of Angoulême politely branded the Emperor as a Judas. Napoleon, placed between two fires, yielded, and in October 1862, on the approach of the elections, made advances towards the Catholics. This action, however, came too late. Dupanloup, Ségur d'Aguesseau, Veillot, and Montalembert were already enrolled under the banner of the constitutional Opposition. Next the Emperor attempted to cut the Gordian knot by a convention with Victor Emmanuel, concluded on September 15, 1864. This agreement, known as the *September Convention*, bound Napoleon to withdraw the French garrison from Rome within two years. On his part, Victor-Emmanuel solemnly pledged himself not to initiate or countenance any fresh aggression against the remaining portion of the Papal territories—that is, the district round Rome known for centuries as the "Patrimony of St. Peter." In revenge, Pius IX. issued the Bull *Quanta Cura* and the famous *Syllabus*, which were an insidious attack upon the French Government. Napoleon met these hostile machinations by forbidding the publication of the *Syllabus* in France. Like all compromises, the September Convention failed. Neither party kept to the spirit of it. The Emperor, in the hope of pleasing the Catholics, evaded its promises by permitting, and even encouraging, French soldiers to enlist in the Papal army; and no sooner had the

French regular troops evacuated Rome (December 1866) than Garibaldi appeared with a volunteer army, intent on a new attack on the temporal power. There was nothing left to Napoleon but to send out a fresh Italian expedition. Garibaldi was routed by General de Failly at Mentana on November 3, 1867—the victory in which the chassepot (then used for the first time) “worked wonders;” and the Italians found in this campaign a fresh source of irritation against the Emperor Napoleon.

It was truly said that, in the disastrous battle of Königgrätz, France and not Austria was defeated. Napoleon III., whose whole policy had been based upon hostility to Austria, saw in the political ruin of Austria a grave menace to his own country. Königgrätz, indeed, was a symbol of the total failure of his plans. Confident in Austria's superiority over Prussia, and confident that France was superior to Austria, he had allowed Bismarck to obtain in advance a pledge of his neutrality. When Prussia overwhelmed Austria, made peace without the mediation of the Emperor, and refused one demand after another for the rectification of the French frontier, Napoleon was compelled to look for support from Austria as well as Italy in the conflict between France and Prussia which appeared to be inevitable. These negotiations were set on foot the very moment the campaign of 1866 concluded. Napoleon's task was not an easy one, for he had to detach Italy from her profitable alliance with Prussia; to make common cause with his ancient enemies, the Austrians; and finally, to reconcile the jealous Austrians and Italians with one another in opposition to the hegemony of Prussia.

By the summer of 1867 matters had progressed so

favourably that Napoleon III. paid a long visit to the Austrian Emperor at Salzburg (18th–23rd August). Two months later Francis-Joseph came to Paris. But it was impossible just then to proceed further than a friendly interchange of ideas between the two emperors; for Italy was not yet detached from Prussia, and the chances of this became remoter still when, at the end of that very month, French troops were once more embarked at Toulon for Rome, and the followers of Garibaldi were routed at Mentana. The sympathies of the Italian Government were with Garibaldi, and they did not hesitate to characterize Napoleon's action as a breach of the September Convention. It is well to note that the whole of the Franco-Austro-Italian negotiations were carried on by the Emperor Napoleon III. personally, and not through his deputies at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Very little official information is, in consequence, available. Affairs took a more favourable turn in 1869. As far as Austria was concerned, her burning desire to avenge the disaster of Königgrätz inclined her to assist Napoleon. Italy, to whom the French Emperor had often, in spite of his vacillating policy, proved himself a good friend, offered her adhesion at the price of the evacuation of Rome by the French—that is, the abolition of the temporal power. Afraid of his Catholic subjects, Napoleon dared not pledge himself to any such policy. There is not the least doubt, however, that the Emperor Napoleon was himself persuaded that his private understandings with the courts of Vienna and Florence bound them in honour to come to his assistance in the event of a Franco-Prussian war.*

* Cf. Beust : *Memoirs*, E.T., Vol. II., pp. 32–7.

On the whole, after the *plébiscite* in May 1870, everything seemed quiet, settled, and orderly in the concerns of France at home and abroad. Interrogated in the Chamber by Jules Favre on 30th June, M. Émile Ollivier was able to assure him that "on whichever side we look there is an absence of troublesome questions; at no moment has the maintenance of the peace of Europe seemed better assured." Yet in less than three weeks France was to be at war with Germany, and in hardly more than two months Napoleon would be a prisoner in the hands of the Prussian King, and the Second Empire at an end.

"If the year 1870 be the terrible year, 1866 is the fatal year," wrote M. Émile Ollivier. "The Romans, according to Cicero, considered the battle of the Allia more disastrous than the taking of Rome, because that last misfortune was the result of the first."

XIV.

WAR.

“THE Ministry of 2nd January,” wrote M. Émile Ollivier many years after, “was formed not to make ready for war with Germany, but to make such a war impossible.” But what the Minister thought mattered little. By 1870 the Chancellor of the North German Federation was ready to place the coping-stone upon the edifice of German unity. After four years of hard work the armies of the South German states, together with those of the suppressed kingdom of Hanover and of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies, had been brought up to the standard of the Prussian forces which proved so invincible at Sadowa. Bismarck noted all these improvements. “What splendid fellows the Würtemberger are now, —quite magnificent!” he exclaimed; “but in 1866 no soldier could help laughing at them.” His faithful disciple, Moritz Busch, candidly avows the Chancellor’s determination. “The leading statesman,” he says, “found it necessary to hasten the inevitable, instead of endeavouring any longer to postpone a crisis; he was compelled to devise some method of provoking the French ere they should be completely ready for the fray.” *

* Busch: *Our Chancellor*, Vol. II., p. 44.

In the vacant Spanish throne Bismarck saw the opportunity he wanted. Bearing in mind the terrific upheavals in bygone Europe during the wars of the Austrian and Spanish successions, he conceived the idea of entangling Napoleon in a dynastic war. This was made possible because in Spain Queen Isabella II., who from childhood had been the sport of fate in a country brimming over with revolution, had been obliged to flee the country and seek refuge in France towards the end of 1868. In this crisis Marshal Serrano became regent; but the dictatorship of the country practically passed into the hands of the Minister for War, Marshal Prim, lately leader of the insurgents. The Spanish Cortes declared the throne vacant; and after discussing the merits of several rival local candidates, determined to secure a king from one of the reigning houses of Europe. Negotiations conducted by Prim were opened up in several directions. These lasted over a period of many months. As early as October 14, 1868, one of the sons of Prince Anthony of Hohenzollern was spoken of as a possible choice. By April 1869 Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern figured prominently in the eyes of the disposers of the Spanish crown. Probably about this time Bismarck first communicated with Marshal Prim. But these negotiations have never been disclosed, and are likely to remain obscure. However, on September 17, 1869, Señor Salazar, a Spanish deputy, actually waited on Prince Anthony, and interviewed his two sons with the object of securing one of these princes for the vacant throne. He was refused by Prince Charles, afterwards King of Roumania; while the eldest son, Prince Leopold, attached such conditions as to render his choice

impossible. How far Prim approved of this mission of Salazar's to the Hohenzollerns is uncertain. After its failure some months elapsed without result. Eventually, in February 1870 Prim himself sent Salazar on a journey to Berlin, definitely charged to secure the candidature of Prince Leopold. Accompanying this messenger were letters both to the King of Prussia and M. de Bismarck.

Thus apprised of the nature of Salazar's mission, King William summoned Prince Anthony with his son Leopold to Berlin, and on 15th March a family gathering was held to debate the matter. Bismarck was present, and, in Prince Anthony's own words, "favoured acceptance for dynastic and political reasons." "On the 15th," wrote Prince Anthony to the future King of Roumania, "a very interesting and important council was held under the presidency of the King, in which the following took part: the Prince Royal, we two, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, Schleinitz, Thile, and Delbrück. The council resolved unanimously in favour of acceptance, which means the performance of a patriotic duty. After a great struggle Leopold refused."

Bismarck, however, encouraged the Spaniards to persevere. On his side he exerted all his arts of persuasion upon Prince Leopold. At the beginning of June, Salazar, and Lothar Bucher a Prussian agent in Madrid, set out on a new mission to the hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern. This time Prince Leopold accepted. At a second interview with Salazar on 19th June he agreed to let his name go forward to the Cortes for election forthwith, and applied to the King of Prussia, as head of his family, for his ap-

proval. King William gave his consent, and Bismarck's plan appeared to have succeeded. Salazar returned to Madrid on 26th June, and called on Prim. Failing to find him, he betook himself to the Ministry of the Interior, where Revero, the Minister, told him the marshal was away on a hunting expedition, having left him in charge. "Then," said Salazar triumphantly, "let me tell you that I bring the news of Prince Leopold's acceptance of the crown." *

It so happened that the Cortes had just adjourned, and no more could be done until Prim's return. On his arrival he took the matter in hand at once. But the news leaked out into the press, and Prim felt he dared keep the French in the dark no longer. When Mercier, the ambassador of Napoleon, called on him on Saturday, 2nd July, he found the Marshal unusually agitated. "I have to tell you," said Prim, "something which I fear will not be agreeable to the Emperor, and I want you to help me so that he does not take it in bad part." † He then announced that the Spanish crown had been offered to, and accepted by, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. To this choice there were, he continued, only two alternatives—the duc de Montpensier, ‡ or the Republic. Mercier, in reply, pointed out that France could never permit the crown of Spain to be held by a German, and that the Emperor would far rather see the throne occupied by an Orleanist prince than

* Émile Ollivier : *L'Empire Libéral*, Vol. XIV., p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, p. 11.

‡ Montpensier, a son of Louis-Philippe, had been married to the ex-Queen's sister under scandalous circumstances in 1846. Compare chapter vi.

a union of the crowns of Madrid and Berlin. As for the Republic, Prim had himself just said, "Je vous avouerai que je la déteste comme l'enfer"—he "hated it like hell."

That same evening the news reached a Paris newspaper, and was published in the *Gazette de France*. On the next day, Sunday, 3rd July, the German *Agence Havas* announced during the afternoon that the Prince of Hohenzollern had accepted the Spanish throne, and would be proclaimed forthwith without the intervention of the Cortes. A dispatch sent off by Mercier that morning at 3 a.m. did not reach the duc de Gramont, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, until the late afternoon. Immediately on receipt of it he went off to the Emperor at St. Cloud. They decided to send telegrams of inquiry to the governments of Prussia and Spain through the respective ambassadors. On his way home Gramont called on the Spanish Ambassador, Olozaga, but found him out. A like thing happened at Ollivier's residence, so Gramont left behind a note containing the news, and recommending a policy of moderation. Arriving at the Foreign Office, he sent off the two telegrams, to Mercier in Madrid and Lesourd* in Berlin.

On 4th July (Monday) Gramont saw Olozaga, and told him the news. The Spanish Ambassador proved absolutely ignorant of the affair, and expressed his amazement. Further, fortunately, the friendly German Ambassador, Baron Werther, was leaving for Prussia that day, and he willingly promised Gramont to make it known to King William that France could

* The French Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin. The ambassador, Count Benedetti, was absent from the capital.

not possibly acquiesce in the candidature. Meanwhile matters were progressing in Madrid. That same day Prim called together his ministers and disclosed his hand. Leopold was approved, and the Cortes summoned for 20th July. By their consent, Admiral Polo di Bernabe was dispatched the next day, 5th July, to tell Leopold of the Spanish Ministry's approval. On Wednesday, 6th July, Prim communicated the choice of Prince Leopold to the diplomatic representatives of the Powers.

While such rapid progress was made in Spain, Lesourd's application for information at Berlin had wholly failed. Calling at the Foreign Office on 4th July, he found Bismarck away at Varzin, in hiding—as he always was in the critical moments when his diplomacy was put to the test—and Thile in charge. Thile affected to make light of the whole matter, pretended he had only heard a passing rumour on the subject, and definitely asserted that the Prussian Government had absolutely no knowledge of the transaction.

From the very moment when the first rumour of the Hohenzollern candidature had been published in the *Gazette de France* on Saturday evening, 2nd July, the whole of the French press had been loud in their condemnation of the Hispano-Prussian plot. Popular indignation was unbounded, and the newspapers began to demand not merely the withdrawal of Prince Leopold, but the enforcing of certain provisions of the Treaty of Prague which Prussia had long neglected. It was clear to every one—and the foreign ambassadors in France were not behind in communicating this information to their Governments—that French susceptibilities had been probed to the

quick and the passions of the people were thoroughly aroused.

The position of Napoleon's government was an extremely difficult one. Berlin steadily refused to acknowledge any connection with the candidature. Bismarck told them to apply at Madrid if they wished to interfere—a proceeding which, by meddling in the affairs of Spain, would, of course, instantly put France in the wrong. The only possible way out of the difficulty was to secure the Prince of Hohenzollern's withdrawal either directly from him, or through the King of Prussia.

Interrogated in the Corps Législatif by the deputy Cochery on 6th July, Gramont replied in dignified but unmistakably firm language. He admitted the candidature, and maintained that France had always been friendly towards Spain. "But," he concluded, "we do not believe that respect for the rights of a neighbouring people obliges us to allow a foreign power, by setting one of its princes on the throne of Charles V., to upset to our disadvantage the balance of power in Europe, and to imperil the interests and honour of France. . . . If things go otherwise, strong in your support, gentlemen, and that of the nation, we shall know how to do our duty without wavering and without weakness." *

On the evening of 7th July Bismarck transmitted to Busch for publication his views on the situation. Whereas in France the *Constitutionnel* was the only paper even remotely under the inspiration of the Government, in Prussia the entire press was at the mercy of the Minister. Busch received his instructions from the Chancellor, to be written up for the

* Émile Ollivier : *L'Empire Libéral*, Vol. XIV., p. 110.

newspapers : “ The *semi-official organs* should indicate that this does not seem to be the proper time for a discussion of the succession to the Spanish throne, as the Cortes, which are alone entitled to decide on the question, have not yet spoken. German governments have always respected Spanish independence in such matters, and will always do so for the future, as they have no claim or authority to interfere or lay down regulations for the Spaniards. Then in the *non-official press* great surprise should be expressed at the presumption of the French, who have discussed the question very fully in the Chamber, speaking as if that Assembly had a right to dispose of the Spanish throne, and apparently forgetting that such a course was as offensive to Spanish pride as it was conducive to republican tendencies. This may be safely construed into a further proof of the false direction the personal *régime* (of the Emperor Napoleon III.) is taking. It would appear as if the Emperor, who has instigated this action, wished to see the outbreak of a new war of succession.” *

All this comes from the brain of the man who had “ *favoured* ” Prince Leopold’s “ *acceptance for dynastic and political reasons* ” on 15th March—in the words of the candidate’s own father, written at the time ; the man whose satellite bluntly tells us that he “ *was compelled to devise some means of provoking the French before they were ready for the fray ;* ” † the man whose own trusted contemporary, Hans Delbrück, told us years afterwards, “ The secret . . . is now disclosed—there is no longer the least doubt

* Busch : *Bismarck*, English edition, Vol. I., p. 35.

† Busch : *Our Chancellor*, Vol. II., p. 45.

about it. Although the original suggestion came from Spain, *the candidature was, nevertheless, the work of Bismarck ;*" * the man who himself avowed that "*but for him three great wars would not have been fought*"—namely, the Prussian wars against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France in 1870.†

In the light of all this after-knowledge the trend of Bismarck's diplomacy in the Hohenzollern candidature is evident. Refusing to allow that the Prussian Government had any knowledge of the transaction, maintaining that the business was the concern of Spain alone, he worked systematically to fix the blame of the inevitable collision between France and Prussia upon France alone. All those arts which had provoked Denmark and Austria, and shown them up in a bad light in the eyes of Europe, were now at work against France. Faced by these difficulties, the French Government struggled to free themselves. Seeing that application to the Chancellor would be useless, on 7th July the French Ambassador in Prussia, Count Benedetti, was ordered by the duc de Gramont to proceed to Ems, beg an audience of the King, and to urge him to refuse his consent to Leopold's candidature.‡ Napoleon, considering it undignified for himself to appeal personally to King William or Prince Leopold, forbade Benedetti's also visiting the Hohenzollerns at Sigmaringen on the same errand. Nevertheless pacific negotiations with this object in view were set on

* Professor Hans Delbrück in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, October 1895.

† Busch : *Our Chancellor*, Vol. I., p. 114.

‡ Émile Ollivier, Vol. XIV., p. 141.

foot through the mediation of the ambassadors of the Great Powers.

These were the negotiations over what Bismarck cynically called "the red rag for the French bull." The original request of France was for the withdrawal of the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne. This was demanded because France conceived it a source of danger to herself to have Germany across her frontier on the Vosges, and Spain across the Pyrenees, united potentially for the purposes of offence and defence which a dynastic alliance between their thrones would portend. France therefore called upon Prussia (as a friendly nation) to disown this scheme. When the Prussian Government steadily refused to avow any knowledge of the transaction, and maintained that in any case the matter would be a personal one for the Prince and the head of his family, King William, French pride was wounded. Feeling themselves trifled with, and the attitude of Bismarck a mere splitting of hairs, the French Government gradually increased their demands. They now began to require not merely the withdrawal of the hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern, but also a declaration from Prussia recognizing her complicity in the negotiation.

Obedient to Gramont's instruction, Benedetti proceeded to Ems on 8th July, and applied for an audience of King William. On the morning of the 9th, Baron Werther, now in attendance on his sovereign, asked Benedetti what he proposed to say to the King, and plainly told him that William had already consented to Leopold's candidature, and could not now withdraw his permission. Their subsequent interview was

devoid of result, since King William (not being in the confidence of Bismarck) refused to recognize the matter as other than a personal one for him as head of the House of Hohenzollern. If France felt herself affronted, he said, like Thile, she must apply not at Berlin but at Madrid.

Hearing the result of this interview, Ollivier summoned the Cabinet to meet at 2 p.m. on Sunday, 10th July, and wrote to Gramont that "from this moment war seems to be forced on us." The council met, but deferred decisive action until the morrow. When they reassembled on the 11th a further dispatch from Benedetti created fresh delay; the Prussian King had met him again, and told him that he was in communication with Prince Anthony on the matter.

On 12th July affairs suddenly took a fresh direction. At 1.40 p.m. that day a dispatch from Prince Leopold's father arrived at Olozaga's house in Paris, announcing his son's withdrawal. This had been brought about by a visit from Strat, the Roumanian agent at Paris, to Sigmaringen, privately instigated by the Spanish Ambassador (Olozaga) with the permission of the Emperor Napoleon. Shortly after two o'clock that afternoon Ollivier, walking in the Tuileries gardens, received the news in a confidential report from the French post office. Having no knowledge of the Strat negotiation, which Napoleon and Olozaga had arranged secretly together, he was overcome with amazement. He walked on to the Corps Législatif, where Olozaga met him and communicated the news. Ollivier, assuming the matter at an end, and what Guizot called "the greatest diplomatic victory I have seen in my life" achieved, privately

announced the Prince's withdrawal to several members in the lobby, though he refrained from any declaration from the tribune.

Passing on from the Corps Législatif, Ollivier proceeded to the Tuileries by appointment, and found the Emperor much heartened by the good news. Napoleon briefly sketched out Strat's mission, and the two, Emperor and Minister, noted that the action had been a purely personal one by Prince Leopold, and entirely independent of the Prussian King or Government—an incident which served to temper their rejoicings with anxiety. Soon after three the Emperor set off for St. Cloud. "Faudra-t-il, Sire, faire seller mes chevaux de guerre?" asked General Bourbaki, his aide-de-camp. "Pas si vite, général," replied the Emperor; "supposez qu'une île surgisse tout à coup entre la France et l'Espagne, toutes deux se la disputent; elle disparaît; sur quoi continuerait-on à se quereller?"*

After leaving the Emperor, M. Émile Ollivier went on to the Foreign Office, where he found the duc de Gramont closeted with Werther, who had just arrived from Ems bearing a conciliatory message. A few minutes before, Olozaga had conveyed the news of Leopold's withdrawal to the Foreign Minister. When Ollivier came into the room this interview broke off, and a general conversation ensued, in which comment was made upon the necessity of King William's officially associating himself with the withdrawal of Prince Leopold. The three then separated, and Gramont set out for St. Cloud about 4 p.m. Arriving at the Palace, the discussion was reopened with the Emperor. Finally, instead of

* Émile Ollivier : *L'Empire Libéral*, Vol. XIV., p. 252.

waiting for the council summoned for the next morning, it was decided to telegraph immediately to Benedetti, ordering him to demand a plain declaration from King William that the candidate had withdrawn by his consent, and that he would never sanction the candidature at any future date. This is the famous "*demand of guarantees.*" It will be well to reproduce the draft of the telegram, which was sent off about seven o'clock that evening (12th July): "Nous avons reçu des mains de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne la renonciation du prince Antoine, au nom de son fils Léopold, à sa candidature au trône d'Espagne. Pour que cette renonciation du prince Antoine produise tout son effet, il paraît nécessaire que le roi de Prusse s'y associe et nous donne l'assurance qu'il n'autoriserait pas de nouveau cette candidature. Veuillez vous rendre immédiatement auprès du roi pour lui demander cette déclaration, qu'il ne saurait refuser, s'il n'est véritablement animé d'aucune arrière pensée. Malgré la renonciation qui est maintenant connue, l'animation des esprits est telle que nous ne savons pas si nous parviendrons à la dominer. Faites de ce télégramme une paraphrase que vous pourrez communiquer au roi. Répondez le plus promptement possible." *

This dispatch shows that French diplomacy had now entered upon the second phase. Prussia, through Bismarck the author of the Hohenzollern candidacy, obstinately refused to acknowledge her complicity. Public opinion in France, outraged by this contemptuous treatment upon the part of their country's hereditary foe, demanded not merely the expulsion of Prince Leopold, but also the admission of her guilt

* Émile Ollivier : *L'Empire Libéral*, Vol. XIV., pp. 254, 255

by Prussia. Since 2nd July practically all the newspapers—the *Univers*, the *Gaulois*, the *Débats*, the *Correspondant*, and a hundred others—had united in demanding satisfaction from Prussia for this new and provocative aggression; while in the Corps Législatif Gambetta, on the extreme Left, as well as Rouher's partisans on the extreme Right, loudly proclaimed war to be the only way out. Thus discussion passed on July 12th, when Strat's mission to Sigmaringen was successfully accomplished, from the incident of the Spanish throne to the cause of it—Prussian aggression. When they framed the dispatch to Benedetti at St. Cloud on the evening of the 12th, Gramont and the Emperor himself realized how difficult it would then be, if not indeed impossible, to stem the torrent of popular indignation. "The popular outcry is such that we do not now know if we can overcome it."

Immediately upon receipt of these instructions from Paris, Count Benedetti applied for a fresh interview with King William. Before the hour for this arrived, the King, walking in the gardens at Ems, between nine and ten on the morning of 13th July, espied the Ambassador, and accosted him. Benedetti delivered his message with great earnestness. He besought the King to allow him to transmit to the French Government an assurance that he would at no future date allow Prince Leopold to become again a candidate for the Spanish throne. Confronted by this demand, the King's delight at what he had supposed to be the successful termination of a troublesome dispute quickly changed into an indignant amazement. He coldly refused to bind himself in any such way, and, mentioning that he

had not yet heard from Prince Leopold himself, declared the conversation at an end. Receiving fresh instructions from Paris, Benedetti hoped to be able to see the King again that day. But for his part King William considered the candidature, and therefore the crisis, at an end, and three times refused to reopen the matter. Instead of seeing the King, as he hoped, Benedetti found the door no longer open, and himself three times over refused a further interview.

From the very start of the negotiation between France and Prussia the Chancellor of the North German Confederation had, on the plea of ill-health, kept himself in seclusion in his country place at Varzin. Gradually of late he had become more and more uneasy as he heard that Benedetti was at Ems in direct contact with "Our Most Gracious," as he was wont irreverently to call his sovereign. On 11th July he received King William's permission to wait on him at Ems. Arriving at Berlin about four on the afternoon of 12th July, he called at the Foreign Office, and there learned to his horror that Prince Leopold had withdrawn. "Instead of taking France by surprise, as he had hoped, he now saw her barring his way. The moment for retreat was come; for the first time in his life the great statesman had sustained defeat." * Overcome by this unexpected intelligence, Bismarck sent on Count Eulenburg to press his resignation upon the King. William delayed an answer until the next day—the 13th. The first thing that happened that morning, before he had decided upon his reply, was his meeting with Benedetti in the gardens, and the French demand of guar-

* Lens : *Geschichte*, "Bismarck," pp. 349, 350.

antees. The two questions in the King's mind were merged into one. He resolved to summon Bismarck, and to place the whole matter in his hands. This he did by Abeken's telegram, dispatched to Berlin at 3.40 p.m. on the 13th. The Chancellor was sitting gloomily at dinner, with Roon and Moltke as his guests, when the Ems dispatch arrived. Instantly he read it his expression changed from one of profound melancholy to one of eager hope. He read out the words to his companions. Turning towards Moltke, he asked abruptly, "Have we any interest in delaying the conflict?" "We have everything to gain," replied Moltke, "by expediting it." Sitting down at his desk, Bismarck wrote out a *précis* of the telegram, calculated to provoke an explosion in France. Relying on the King's support, he sent off the new version to the newspapers and to the foreign embassies. In 1892, in consequence of the statements of Bismarck himself, the German Government were obliged to publish the original text of Abeken's dispatch. We will put this telegram and Bismarck's edition of it side by side.—

Abeken.

"Ems, 13th July, 3.40 p.m.

"His Majesty writes to me :

"Count Benedetti stopped me on the parade to ask of me finally, in an insistent manner, to authorize him to telegraph forthwith that I pledge myself not to give my consent in the future, if the Hohenzollerns should put forward their candidature anew. I refused rather definitely, because one cannot

Bismarck.

"When the news of the withdrawal of the hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern was communicated by the Spanish to the French Government, the French Ambassador asked his Majesty the King, at Ems, to authorize him to telegraph to Paris that his Majesty pledged himself for the time to come never to give

Abeken.

and ought not to enter into such engagements for all time. I said to him, naturally, that I had still received nothing; and since he got the news before I did, both from Paris and Madrid, he would see very well that my Government stood aloof.'

"His Majesty has since received a letter from Prince Charles-Anthony. As His Majesty had told Count Benedetti that he was awaiting news from the Prince, the King has decided, on the suggestion of Count Eulenburg and myself, not to receive Count Benedetti again because of the demand mentioned above, but to send him word by his adjutant that his Majesty had now received from the Prince the confirmation of the news that the Count had already received from Paris, and that His Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the Ambassador. His Majesty leaves to your Excellency's decision the question whether the fresh demand of Count Benedetti, and the refusal which was accorded it, ought to be communicated at once to our ministers, to foreign countries, and the press." *

* The French text of the telegram is reproduced in Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, Vol. XIV., pp. 306, 307, and 324, 325. For the original German, see his *The Franco-Prussian War and its Hidden Causes*, translated into English by G. B. Ives, pp. 484, ffg. Pitman, 1913.

Bismarck.

his consent, if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature.

"Therefore his Majesty refused to receive the French Ambassador again,

and sent his aide-de-camp in attendance to tell him

that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to him."

A careful comparison of these two renderings will show that Bismarck so abbreviated Abeken's telegram as to make it appear that King William had not only rejected Benedetti's demands, but, by his refusal to receive the French ambassador again, had practically broken off diplomatic relations with France. What William really did was to decline further personal negotiations with Count Benedetti, handing the matter over to his Government, and leaving everything in the hands of Bismarck. Bismarck's mode of publication was a deliberate incitement to war. Less than two hours after he had drawn up his *précis* of the Ems dispatch, he had it published (9 p.m. on 13th July) in a special supplement to the *North German Gazette*, which was posted on all the hoardings of Berlin, and distributed free in the streets. To make assurance doubly sure, that very night the Prussian Foreign Office verbally communicated Bismarck's dispatch to the ministers and ambassadors of all the foreign Powers.

In the early morning of 14th July the news reached Paris through the French agents at Berlin, Berne, and Munich. While Ollivier was engaged in the construction of a pacific dispatch to be read in the Chambers that day, Gramont burst in upon him with the fatal intelligence. "My dear fellow," said he, as he communicated his intelligence, "you see in front of you a man who has received a knock-down blow." Instantly a message was sent off to St. Cloud, which brought the Emperor into Paris to preside over a hastily summoned council at the Tuileries half an hour after noon. Four hours later, after a tremendous discussion, Marshal Leboeuf, the War Minister, went off (4.40 p.m.) to summon the reserves to the colours.

At his instigation a fresh council, consisting of all those Ministers who could be got together at short notice, met that night at St. Cloud. Very little progress was made, except the confirmation of the recall of the reserves, already decided on earlier in the day. By 9 a.m. on 15th July the indefatigable Ministers were again in council with the Emperor at St. Cloud. Now, for the first time, the Empress entered the council, and took her seat on the right hand of Napoleon. The draft of the declaration to be read that day in the Sénat and Corps Législatif was examined and approved.

About 1 p.m. the Chambers met. The Emperor having become a constitutional monarch, no longer possessed the prerogative of declaring war, as he had done in the Crimean and Italian campaigns. It was necessary to secure the consent of Parliament. When Ollivier concluded the declaration with the words, "We have omitted nothing to avoid war; we propose to carry on the war that is offered to us, leaving to each nation that share of the responsibility which belongs to it. Yesterday we recalled the reserves, and, with your permission, we propose instantly to take the necessary measures for safeguarding the interests, safety, and honour of France," his voice was drowned in shouts of wild enthusiasm. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" "*Vive la France!*" arose in every corner of the House. The sitting was adjourned, while a commission examined the diplomatic correspondence leading up to the crisis. Upon the reassembling of the deputies the report of the commission was approved, and a vote of credit for the war carried by 245 against 6. Among the majority were extreme Radicals such as Gambetta, side by

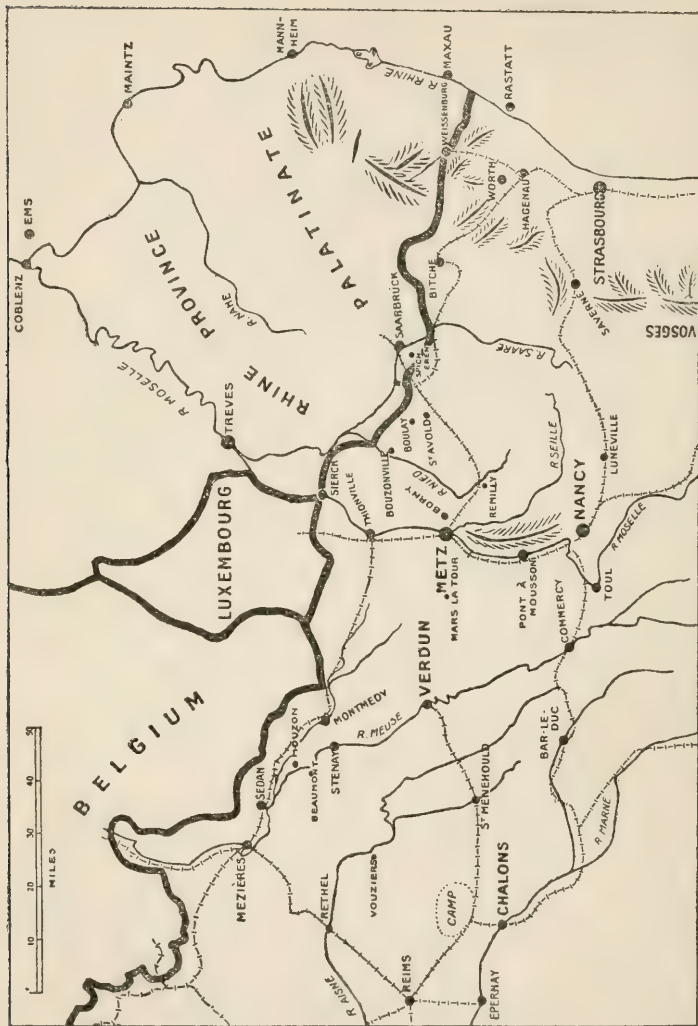
side with moderate Republicans like Jules Ferry and Jules Simon. Thiers abstained from giving his vote ; Jules Favre was absent.

Thus was kindled the third and most desperate of Bismarck's self-confessed three wars of aggression. On 19th July an aide-de-camp, Baron Wimpffen, delivered the French declaration of war in Berlin. The jealousies, rivalries, and differences between France and Prussia were at last to be submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. So skilfully had Bismarck waved his "red flag for the French bull," that, as usual, all Europe believed his enemy to be the aggressor.

XV.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.

WITH the declaration of war the conduct of affairs passed from Ollivier to the Emperor and his military advisers. At once Napoleon announced his intention of assuming command of the Army of the Rhine in person. In consultation with Marshal Lebœuf, he himself worked out all the details of organization and selected the generals who were to be placed in charge of the various army corps. To these dispositions and appointments the Prime Minister remained a stranger. On 24th July, Lebœuf, placed in charge of the assembling of the French forces on the north-eastern frontier, left Paris for Metz, handing over to M. Dejean the direction of the War Office. But not before he had persuaded the Emperor into making a fatal error. In order to gain time, he had united the processes of mobilization and concentration. Instead of gathering together and equipping each army corps at its depot, and then, with accoutrements, armaments, and equipments complete, moving it up to the frontier ready for immediate action, the reserves were sent up to join the skeleton of their corps right on the very frontier. Considerable confusion resulted. Generals wandered from place to place, endeavouring to find



THE THEATRE OF OPERATIONS, 1870-71.

divisions which did not exist. Stores and ammunition were dispatched from Paris to Metz, there to be apportioned out to the armies. These remained hung up in goods yards and sidings, while despairing quartermasters telegraphed to Dejean at the War Office demanding supplies which had long since been sent, but in the inextricable confusion had been lost or overlooked in transit. Nor did they find consolation in the Minister's reply, that they already had what they asked. Stores and ammunition existed in plenty, but the transport organization and the whole system of distribution was hopelessly defective. Despite the untiring efforts of their staff, the railways became disorganized. The great bulk of the transport fell upon one line, the Eastern Railway Company, which in the first ten days of the war carried to the frontier no less than 185,620 men, 32,410 horses, 3,162 guns or caissons, and 925 trucks of munitions, in 594 trains; while from 16th July to 4th August these numbers were increased to over 300,000 men, 64,700 horses, 6,000 guns and caissons, with 4,408 trucks of stores and armaments.

Over-centralization was the curse of the French system. While in Germany every man saw posted up in his village the place of the nearest depot in the locality, and proceeded there at once to get his accoutrements, in France a reservist had perhaps to travel from Brittany to Paris for a like purpose, and then often to rejoin his regiment near his own home, lastly to move up to the frontier and search for the appropriate division and corps to which the regiment belonged. Here, unused to the larger formations, men found themselves placed under the command of officers they had never seen before, in cir-

cumstances altogether novel. The regular soldiers were moved up instantly to the frontier, while the reservists joined up as best they could. Some of the French towns became choked with soldiers. Thus, at Marseilles, General d'Exéa, finding no accommodation for the portion of the army returning from Algiers, which he had been ordered to retain, sent them on to Toulon. At Toulon there was no room either, and they were shipped off again to Algiers. By this time their whereabouts had been discovered by General d'Exéa, who again brought them back to Marseilles, and forwarded them to the front after all this delay.

“Sire,” Marshal Niel had said to Napoleon III. in 1869, “we have an excellent army, well trained and full of enthusiasm, the organization perfect. Nothing is lacking to it. Sire, you have the best army in the world.” But Niel's reorganization of the army was cut short by his death. When France declared war in 1870 the effective strength of her army, including reserves, was less than 570,000. Against this the available forces of the German Confederation totalled up to 1,180,000. The *Gardes Mobiles* which Niel had projected as a second line of defence were untrained, and differed nothing from civilians except in the wearing of a uniform. Many of these were infected by Socialism and actively hostile to the Emperor. When, in the third week of August, they were assembled at Châlons, they proved a drunken, unorganized rabble, openly insolent to the Emperor after his arrival from Metz. Marshal MacMahon was obliged to send them off to Paris, thankful to be rid of them. Not only was the German army immeasurably superior to

the French in numbers, but also in organization. The French staff were lamentably deficient in strategic knowledge and ability; very little use was made of the cavalry as a screen in front of the armies, at once a protection against sudden attack and a means of ascertaining the dispositions of the enemy forces. The maps supplied to the officers were all of German territory, the possibility of French soil being the theatre of operations being neglected.

Fifteen days was the normal period of mobilization. But so great was the confusion of Lebœuf's simultaneous mobilization and concentration that all the advantage of being the first in the field was lost. Meanwhile the Emperor lingered at Paris, hoping every day to hear that Austria, upon whose support he counted, was ready to join in. To Italy also Napoleon looked for help. But the French Emperor, fearful of his Catholic subjects, was unwilling to acknowledge the inevitable and leave Rome open to the troops of Victor-Emmanuel. The utmost length he would go was to renew the convention of September. Victor-Emmanuel accepted this proposal, and the French troops evacuated Rome, leaving Pius IX. finally to his own resources. Immediately after the capitulation of Sedan and the fall of the Empire, the Italian troops were set in motion, and on September 20, 1870, occupied the Eternal City, proclaiming it the capital of united Italy.

Hoping against hope for Austrian assistance, Napoleon let the precious days slip by in which the French troops might take the offensive—the attitude best suited to the Frenchman's natural *élan*. Further, the incompleteness of the concentration upon the Rhenish frontier hindered operations. In this limp,

hesitating condition, the Emperor, who reserved the direction of the campaign to himself, formed no fixed plan of operations. As long as there was any hope of Austrian and Italian assistance the plan in favour was to cross the Rhine from Strasbourg, thereby cutting off the South German states, who were jealous of Prussian hegemony; thence to pass over the Danube near Ulm, and make for Ratisbon; the Austrian mobilization being complete, to advance by Stuttgart towards Nuremberg, there to join the Austrians; last of all, joined by the Italians near Munich, to march into Saxony and deliver a united grand attack which would conclude the campaign.*

As late as 21st July MacMahon, passing through Paris on his way from Algiers to assume command of the 1st Army Corps, called on the Emperor, and found him inclined to this plan. A day or two later Napoleon was meditating the abandonment of the offensive through Strasbourg, and making instead an advance across the Saare into the Palatinate. All these delays produced a bad effect in Paris, which was nervously anxious to hear of the commencement of the march on Berlin. Ollivier and the Ministry pressed upon the Emperor the advisability of making a public departure from the capital for the theatre of operations. This proposal Napoleon rejected, ostensibly on the ground that triumphal processions would be more in keeping when he returned victorious; in reality, because his health was so bad that he could not bear the effort of a long ride on horseback through the streets, nor even the strain of traversing them in a carriage. At last, 28th July was fixed for his departure. At nine o'clock in the

* Émile Ollivier: *L'Empire Libéral*, Vol. XV., p. 114.

morning of that day the Ministers proceeded for the last time to St. Cloud, and there took leave of their master. When Ollivier's turn came to say good-bye the Emperor embraced him affectionately, and whispered in an undertone, "I count on you." "These are the last words," wrote the ex-Premier sadly, "I ever heard from his lips." At half-past nine Napoleon III., accompanied by the young Prince Imperial, entered the special train awaiting them at the private station in the park; the Empress called out to her son, "Lulu, do your duty;" and all was over. The train passed round the Ceinture to join the Eastern Railway at La Villette, where a huge crowd assembled to cheer their sovereign—and Paris had seen her second founder for the last time. That evening the Emperor arrived at Metz, and took up his quarters at the *Préfecture*. At last delays were over, and the French forces ready to begin their work, the imperial eagle their standard, the Emperor Napoleon their leader. In the capital affairs of State were left in the hands of the Empress as regent.

Immediately upon his arrival the Emperor held a consultation with his chief of staff, Lebœuf, and Marshal Bazaine, who was in command of the 3rd Corps. Even now Napoleon was in a state of hesitation. "Well, Sire," asked Lebœuf, "how goes it with Austria?" "We are negotiating," said the Emperor. "Negotiating!" cried the marshal. "Why, in two or three days we have got to start our campaign. If we don't make the first move, we shall be attacked ourselves." After examining the state of the army, the progress of mobilization and concentration, the Council adjourned until the morrow,

when it was arranged they should meet Frossard (commanding the 2nd Corps) at St. Avold station. When they met the next day Napoleon, who was obviously in great physical suffering, adopted Frossard's advice of an offensive movement against Saarbrück, the first Prussian outpost across the Saare. On the 30th (Saturday) Lebœuf was dispatched to ascertain the dispositions of MacMahon's corps, the 1st, at Strasbourg. While he was away General Lebrun, acting in his stead, issued the orders necessary for the advance of the 2nd Corps on Saarbrück, arranged for Tuesday, 2nd August. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th Corps were ordered to support Frossard's attack, and the whole force was placed under the command of Marshal Bazaine. The same evening Lebœuf arrived back from Strasbourg, bringing MacMahon with him. Napoleon sent for MacMahon, and held a private consultation. The marshal found the Emperor profoundly discouraged by a letter from the Emperor of Austria, declining immediate assistance. In consequence, Napoleon had made up his mind that any advance across the Rhine from Strasbourg was quite out of the question. A fresh conference was held at Forbach on the 31st. Here Bazaine strongly protested against the advance on Saarbrück. This operation was, therefore, reduced to a mere occupation of the left bank of the river. Napoleon, who was not present, was informed of this change of plan by telegraph (4.50 p.m. in the afternoon), and signified his approval.

It was in this way that the French opened their campaign. While the crowds of Paris paraded the streets, shouting themselves hoarse with the cry, "A Berlin!" "A Berlin!" the ailing Emperor remained



MARSHAL MACMAHON.

(Photo, Deroche.)

halting and hesitating with his army. Napoleon's natural indecision of character was gravely accentuated by his physical sufferings. At one time he was for an advance by Strasbourg, at another by Saarbrück. Snatching at straws of hope like a drowning man, at one moment he was buoyed up by the hope of European intervention, at another by Austrian intervention. Mindful of the horrors he had seen on the field of Solférino, he shrunk from the prospect of the bloodshed which would follow the opening of the campaign. No man knew better than he the tremendous difficulties that lay in front of him. Any and every delay that offered he instantly seized upon. In such a fashion precious time was lost. As day succeeded day and the hoped-for news of victory did not come, the inhabitants of the capital grew more and more restive. The Ministry itself became alarmed. On 1st August Ollivier wrote urgently to Lebœuf: "Why are you doing nothing? Do make up your minds. I appeal to your patriotism and to your intelligence. We are astonished that as yet you have done nothing."

How were the French forces disposed when hostilities commenced? The Army of the Rhine consisted of eight corps, distributed right along the frontier between the neutral territories of Luxembourg and Switzerland. Proceeding from north to south, the dispositions were as follows: the 4th Corps, under the command of General Ladmirault, was posted in the villages of Sierck, Bouzonville, and Boulay. Next to them, on their right, was the 3rd Corps at St. Avold, commanded by Marshal Bazaine. At Forbach was stationed the 2nd Corps (General Frossard). East of these, in the small towns of

Saareguemines and Bitche, came the 5th Corps, under de Failly. South of the 5th Corps the 1st Corps defended the Rhine, the passages of which were in the hands of the French, from Haguenau to Strasbourg; this corps was under the orders of Marshal MacMahon. The rest of the frontier, right down to the Swiss border at Bâle, was watched by the 7th Corps, quartered at Belfort and Lyons, under General Félix Douay. The Imperial Guard were concentrated at Metz, and, as a reserve to the whole army, ready to be sent where it was most needed. Marshal Canrobert held the 6th Corps at the Camp of Châlons, some fifty miles to the west.

Owing to the extreme confusion of Lebœuf's simultaneous mobilization and concentration, none of these corps were up to full strength; the whole number of men assembled on 1st August was 278,882, of which (deducting the *intendance* department and other non-combatants) only 237,712 were available for the field. Behind the regular army stood 590,000 untrained *Gardes Mobiles* and some 143,000 men retained at the depots. Further, although their *chassepots* were superior to the German rifles, and the Germans possessed none of the deadly *mitrailleuses*, the French artillery was only muzzle loading, and outranged by that of the Germans.

Massed against Napoleon's host were three German armies. The *First*, based upon Trêves, under *General Steinmetz*, a veteran of 1814, consisting of the VII. and VIII. Corps, with the 3rd Cavalry Division, numbered 55,000 men, and had by the end of July occupied the whole of the exposed frontier of the Rhine province. The Palatinate was defended by the *Second Army*, under the command of *Prince*

Frederick Charles, nicknamed the Red Prince, the ablest of all the German generals. On 31st July this army, consisting of the Prussian Guards, the III., IV., IX., X., XII. Corps, with the v. and vi. Cavalry Divisions, in all 175,000 men, was around Maintz. To the south of it, along both sides of the Rhine, from Mannheim to the French frontier at Lauterburg, lay the *Third Army*. This was under the command of the *Crown Prince of Prussia*—the husband of the Princess Royal of England, and the future Emperor Frederick. It was made up of the V. and XI. Corps, the I. and II. Bavarian Corps, the Würtemberg and Baden Divisions, and the iv. Cavalry Division. This force numbered some 130,000.

At last the morning of 2nd August dawned. About 7.15 a.m. Lebœuf told Frossard that, as the action was to be a mere reconnoissance, the Emperor had decided not to be present. Scarcely had Frossard heard this than he received a wire from Napoleon announcing that after all he felt he must be with his troops when the first blow was struck. On the Emperor's arrival Lebœuf begged him not to mount his horse, but was met with the declaration, "My soldiers are going to fight; I must be with them." The action began at eleven o'clock, and the weak Prussian detachment, the advance guard of the Second Army, was driven back, the frontier crossed, and Saarbrück occupied. Each side sustained about seventy casualties, and that was all. About one o'clock the Emperor and the Prince Imperial, who had been in the front rank of the infantry, withdrew. As Napoleon dismounted, he invited General Lebrun's assistance. "Your Majesty appears to be suffering," exclaimed the general. "Yes," was the reply, "I am

suffering horribly.” No time was lost in communicating the news of this empty victory to the expectant population in Paris. Lebœuf sent an account for the *Journal Officiel*. “To-day at eleven o’clock the French troops had a serious engagement with the Prussian troops. Our army has crossed the frontier and invaded the territory of Prussia. . . . The engagement was over by one o’clock. The Emperor assisted at the operations, and the Prince Imperial, who accompanied him, has received on the first field of battle his baptism of fire. His presence of mind, his coolness in danger, were worthy of the name he bears. At four o’clock the Emperor and the Prince returned to Metz.” Thus an insignificant skirmish, in which a few hundred Prussians were driven back by an entire French army corps, was represented as of serious importance. Even Saarbrück, the only piece of German soil occupied by the French during the war, was speedily evacuated. Meanwhile, while Frossard was engaged in this operation, MacMahon had returned to Strasbourg, charged to move the 1st Corps, to which was now added the 7th Corps, northwards between the Vosges Mountains and the Rhine, to join the 5th at Bitche.

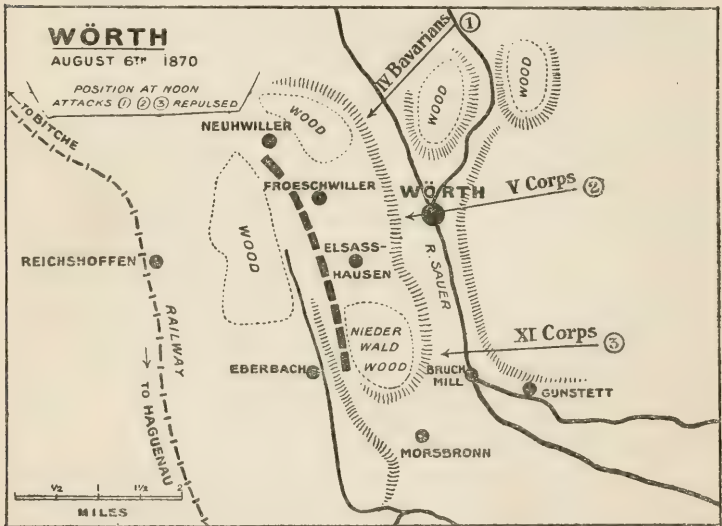
After the affair at Saarbrück the German First and Second Armies were ordered, on their side, to move towards the frontier between Luxembourg and the Rhine, and the Crown Prince’s army to cross the Lauter River, so as to begin an immediate invasion of France. It so fell out that in his northward march MacMahon pushed forward a weak force right up to the Lauter at Wissembourg, to act as a screen behind which the 1st and 7th Corps were to be assembled. These arrived on the one side of the river on the

evening of 3rd August, just as the advance guard of the German Third Army arrived on the other. To their surprise, on the morning of 4th August the French found themselves attacked by two corps, the V. and XI. Their commander, General Félix Douay, was killed, and they were obliged to fall back upon the main body at Wörth, a village on the eastern slopes of the Vosges. This operation was successfully accomplished, and the Emperor then added the 5th Corps (under de Failly) to MacMahon's command.

It was now clear beyond all doubt that the real business of the campaign was about to commence. Large forces of the enemy faced the French, and were already on the offensive. The advantage of being first to attack had passed from the French, and even at this moment the Emperor appeared to have no definite plan of operations. The 6th of August proved a desperate day for his army, who were attacked in two places by the enemy, and forced into retreat. The first of the actions was at *Wörth*, where MacMahon, after the Wissembourg affair, had taken up a position for the defence of the Vosges passes. Three divisions of his 1st Corps were posted on an eminence above the river Sauer, and extending from the village of Froschwiller to Eberbach. These were supported by a division of the 7th Corps on the right, with Michel's cavalry brigade. In their rear was the 4th Division of the 1st Corps and two other brigades, while a division of the 5th Corps was coming up to their assistance from Bitche.

Apparently Marshal MacMahon intended to attack the exposed corps of the German Third Army by an advance from Wörth on 7th August. However, instead, he found himself attacked by this

force on the morning of the 6th. Three separate assaults were made on the French who, established on an eminence, and protected in the centre and left by woods, with the river Sauer running in the valley in front of them, were in a readily defensible position. At 7 a.m. the outposts of the V. Corps made an attack upon the bridge at Wörth. Hearing the firing, the iv. Bavarian Division came up to



their support on the right, while the infantry of the XI. Corps joined issue on the left. Before noon each of these attacks had been repulsed by the French, and the Crown Prince had actually ordered a retirement. Afraid of the moral effect of a French victory, General von Kirchbach took it upon himself to disobey orders, and a general assault was delivered upon the French position. One by one the assailants gained

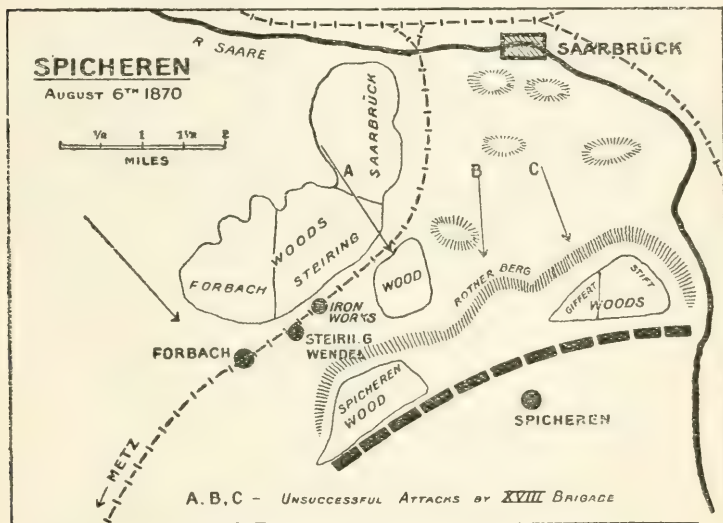
the various *points d'appui* essential to the defence. First the hamlet of Morsbronn was captured; thence an advance against the Niederwald, the wood below the French centre, succeeded; immediately afterwards the French were forced to evacuate the village of Eberbach, on which their right flank rested. Last of all, about 4 p.m. the Bavarians, Würtembergers, and Prussians, in a combined assault, backed up by the fire of massed artillery on the heights beyond the Sauer, carried Fröschwiller. The whole of the French positions thus fell into the hands of the enemy, and MacMahon's force retreated hurriedly in disorder towards Saverne and Lunéville.

In this battle of Wörth, the first pitched battle of the war, success at first inclined towards the French, who fought a defensive action, which was uncongenial to them, with marked bravery and coolness. They lost ultimately because they were outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy. While the French force did not exceed 40,850 with 107 guns, the Germans had some 75,280 men engaged, supported by 231 guns. The German casualties were about 10,500 as against the French 8,000. The choice of route for retreat was unfortunate. The obvious thing to do was for the defeated corps to fall back towards Metz, and so keep in touch with the main body of the Army of the Rhine. Instead, MacMahon's army allowed themselves to be entirely cut off by the advance of the Third German Army towards Lunéville and Nancy.

The second battle of 6th August was fought at *Spicheren*, near Saarbrück. On the preceding day General Frossard, who with the 2nd Corps had held the left bank of the river Saare since the skirmish

at Saarbrück on 2nd August, had felt himself obliged to evacuate this exposed position in view of the near approach of the German First and Second Armies, under Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles. He, therefore, recrossed the frontier on 5th August, and his main body took up a strong position upon the heights of Spicheren. Their front was protected by steep ascents, especially that of the Rother Berg in the centre; while, in addition, wooded slopes on the left and right afforded excellent cover for the defenders. The woods at the foot of the hill were held by the French, as well as the outlying village of Steiring Wendel and its ironworks. On 6th August the xiv. Division, being the advance guard of the Second German Army, reoccupied Saarbrück, but quickly found themselves under a hot fire from the French artillery on the Spicheren heights. Supposing that they had only a small rearguard of the enemy confronting them, the xxvii. Brigade immediately developed an attack upon this position. Two battalions were told off to attack the French on their left and two on the right, while two battalions were kept in reserve—one brigade against an army corps. These attacks failed, even though the two reserve battalions were hurled against the Rother Berg in the centre. Just as at Wörth, the battle at first favoured the French. But by a foolish mistake Frossard, who might have overwhelmed the enemy at this juncture, held his force on the defensive. Meanwhile the rest of the xiv. Division—that is, the xxviii. Brigade—came upon the scene, and proceeded to the support of their comrades. Behind them came the III. and VIII. Army Corps. About three o'clock in the afternoon five companies

of the original brigade succeeded in mounting the crest of the Rother Berg; but once there the French had them at their mercy, and they could neither advance nor withdraw. While this was going on the railway began to bring up the artillery of the III. and VIII. Corps, which soon unlimbered, and about four o'clock opened fire from a group of small hills facing the Spicheren plateau. The Germans



now attacked all the French positions, both the advanced posts in the ironworks and at Steiring Wendel, and the main position along the heights. A fresh assault was made upon the Rother Berg, and attempts were made to get possession of the Giffert and Stift woods. At 7 p.m. the issues were still undecided. At this time on their right the French forces were about equal to the Prussians,

while they were considerably superior on their left. Frossard found he could do little on the right ; but, on the other hand, his forces had made a considerable advance on the left. But intelligence reached the French commander that his line of communications through Forbach was menaced by the advance of the xiii. Division. He therefore decided to withdraw his forces towards Saareguemines under cover of darkness. This manœuvre was executed in admirable order ; but the withdrawal of the French from this drawn battle left the Germans in possession of the field, and in consequence the victors. The forces engaged on either side were about equal. The French had 23,679 men in action, and 72 guns ; the Prussians 26,494 infantry, with 66 guns. Granted a more enterprising leader, the victory at any time in the day might have inclined to the French.

XVI.

RETREAT.

FOUR days' campaigning had been most disastrous to the armies of the Emperor Napoleon III. The empty display at Saarbrück had been quickly followed by the defeat of the 1st and 7th Corps under MacMahon at Wörth, and the withdrawal of Frossard's 2nd Corps at Spicheren under the growing pressure of the German advance. The news of these two failures on one day—the fateful 6th August—produced consternation and indignation in the capital. Ollivier's Government, acclaimed with such enthusiasm on 2nd January, was overthrown, and the Empress-Regent summoned General Count Palikao to the head of the executive. Measures were taken to strengthen the armies by the calling up of every man liable for military service, and the accumulation of a vast store of provisions and munitions of war.

Encouraged by the victories at Wörth and Spicheren, Count von Moltke, as the Prussian King's chief of staff, decided to adhere to his original plan of campaign, and issued orders to that effect. He directed the three German armies to advance westward over a broad front, keeping in touch with one another, so as to be able to render mutual assist-

ance should any one of them be attacked by the large French army still before them. From St. Avold, so lately the headquarters of the Emperor Napoleon's command, now the headquarters of King William, the First Army was ordered to move on Metz; the Second towards the Seille, and ultimately towards the Moselle; while the Third Army, destined for the French capital, was to make its way after MacMahon's retreating host towards Lunéville and Nancy. All these movements were under way by 12th August.

As usual, the imperial headquarters at Metz was paralyzed by chronic indecision. No proper reconnaissances were carried out by the French cavalry, and nothing was known of the dispositions of the Prussians. After Spicheren all the forces on the frontier had been withdrawn to the east of Metz; the 6th Corps were called up from Châlons, and the whole force (some 176,000, with 540 guns) was handed over by the Emperor to the command of Marshal Bazaine. From these MacMahon was completely separated by the army of Prince Frederick-Charles. Finally, after a weak attempt to defend the line of the river Nied had been abandoned, on 13th August a general retreat on Châlons was decided on. MacMahon, on his part, with the remnant of the 1st and 7th Corps, joined now also by the 5th Corps, extricated his force and took train for Châlons. Bazaine moved in a more leisurely fashion. To gain time for strengthening the inadequate defences of Metz, he determined to march his entire army through the town, intending to make the fortress of Verdun the half-way house to Châlons. On the morning of the 14th the great retreat commenced; but, encumbered

by the enormous quantities of impedimenta sent on in advance, progress was extremely slow, and the various corps failed to reach their allotted positions to time.

On the other hand, the Prussians, moving with clockwork regularity, were gradually encompassing the French from east to south in a quarter circle. On the morning of the 14th the First Army, under Steinmetz, rested on the Nied, to the east of Metz; the Second Army was to the south of them; and the Third Army, delayed by the crossing of the passes of the Vosges Mountains, lay on the upper banks of the Saare, more to the south-east. That evening the X. and Guard Corps of the Second Army reached the Moselle at Pont-à-Mousson, and completed the quarter circle to the south and south-west of the French. An inconclusive engagement was fought this day at Borny (or Colombey) between the I. and VII. Corps of the First Army and the French rearguard, consisting of the 3rd and 4th Corps, which was endeavouring to cover the retreat. At nightfall Bazaine withdrew these forces under the shelter of the Metz fortifications. In this engagement General Decaen, who had succeeded Bazaine in the command of the 3rd Corps when he became commander of the Army of the Rhine on 13th August, was killed, and Bazaine himself slightly wounded. The casualties on the French side amounted to some 4,000, while their enemies lost 5,000 men. As at Wörth and Spicheren, the German army at the close of the day bivouacked in the enemy's position on the battlefield.

More decisive movements were now in progress to the south and south-east. The Second Army had been gradually moving northward to intercept the

French retreat westward. On the afternoon of the 15th the German v. Cavalry Division detected the French cavalry on the Metz-Mars-la-Tour-Verdun road, but avoided an engagement until their supports arrived. Von Moltke, apprised of the situation, directed a vigorous attack on this position for the 16th. The danger of this new menace from the south was evident to Bazaine, who succeeded in inducing the Emperor to withdraw to Châlons at daybreak on 16th August, and warned his men to look out for an attack on the road at Mars-la-Tour that day. Battle was joined about 10 a.m., when the French cavalry were suddenly driven back from Vionville on Frossard's corps (the 2nd) encamped at Rezonville. Behind this village lay the greater part of the 6th Corps (lately come from Châlons), and the Imperial Guard were at Gravelotte, some three miles eastward towards Metz. Following on this initial success, a general attack was begun by the v. and vi. Prussian Cavalry Divisions, supported by the advance guards of the III. and X. Corps. By 2 p.m. the outposts of the French 2nd Corps had been compelled to evacuate the villages of Vionville and Flavigny, but the 2nd Corps, strengthened by the 6th, stood firm at Rezonville, and a powerful French counter-attack was only staved off by the desperate charges of von Bredow's cavalry. The French then extended their line westward to Mars-la-Tour, where a desperate hand-to-hand fight took place between the opposing cavalry. At 7 p.m. Prince Frederick-Charles, on the field in person since four o'clock, ordered a final assault upon the French positions; but the III. and X. Corps were completely worn out, while the VIII.

and IX. Corps of the First Army, though in the neighbourhood, were not yet present in sufficient force to render much assistance. Night fell, and found both sides occupying the same positions as at noon. This battle, like all those before it, gave the victory to neither side. Yet the advantage again accrued to the Prussians, as it delayed the French retreat, and their overwhelming numerical superiority enabled them to pursue their plan of enveloping the Army of the Rhine. Each side lost about 16,000 men. Bazaine employed some 70,000 men, and in his rear the Imperial Guard and the 3rd Corps (commanded by Lebœuf since Decaen's death) were available in reserve. Opposed to them General von Alvensleben had scarcely more than 30,000 men available during the greater part of the day. Had Bazaine not been so anxious about maintaining touch with Metz he might, by a vigorous attack on his right, have inflicted a serious defeat upon the Second Army.

The Prussians being left in position at Mars-la-Tour, Vionville, and Flavigny, the more southerly road to Verdun became impossible for the purposes of the French retreat. Hemmed in by the enemy on the east, south, and west, the only route still available lay to the north and north-west. Confronted by this difficult situation, Bazaine arrested his march, and assembled the whole army on the high ground along the line Rozerieulles-Amanvilliers-St. Privat. This was a strong position, and behind it lay the protection afforded by the guns of Metz. Proceeding from south to north, it was held by the 2nd Corps (Frossard), the 3rd (Lebœuf), the 4th (Ladmirault), and the 6th (Canrobert), while the

Guard stood in reserve behind the 2nd and 3rd Corps. This movement was accomplished successfully on 17th August, without the least interference from the Germans, who were uncertain of the French plans. Convinced, however, that the battle of Mars-la-Tour (Vionville, the Prussians call it) had definitely arrested Bazaine's retreat, von Moltke brought up large reinforcements from the Second Army to the support of the battered III. and X. Corps. In addition to the VIII.* and IX. Corps, which were already on the march on the 16th, the VII.,* XII., and Guard Corps were pushed forward, and the whole force, comprising seven army corps with three cavalry divisions, was posted along the Metz-Verdun-Paris road from Mars-la-Tour to Rezonville, and thence eastward to Ars. Reckoning from west to east, the dispositions were, in order, the Guard Corps, the XII., X., III., IX., VIII., and VII. Corps.

On 18th August, using the VII. Corps as a pivot, these corps were wheeled round to face the French position, which ran almost north and south. Owing to some uncertainty as to the actual dispositions of Bazaine's forces, the German advance was not conducted with any great regularity, and in the course of it several corps crossed one another's lines of march. About noon the IX. Corps found their advance barred by Ladmirault's corps, whom they ran against somewhat unexpectedly, and, bringing their artillery into action, proceeded to attack. This was the opening of a battle, known to the French as *Gravelotte* and to the Germans as *St. Privat*, which was the most bloody and most desperate contest of the whole war. Seven German corps attacked five

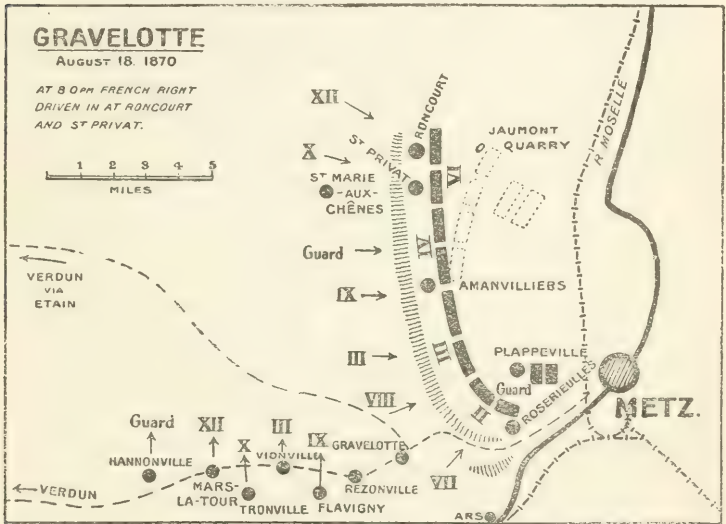
* The VII. and VIII. Corps were drawn from the First Army.

French, and the issue of the combat remained undecided for twelve hours. When General von Manstein gave rein to his men at noon he was under the impression that he faced the enemy's right flank, whereas he was attacking the very centre of their line. No sooner had he opened the attack than he found his mistake. His artillery was out-matched by the French, and the withering fire they poured down decimated his infantry. Every advance attempted was repulsed, and a desperate situation was only relieved late in the afternoon by the arrival of the Guard Corps on the left and the III. Corps on the right. So far, then, the defenders held their ground in the centre with ease. Farther south the two corps of the First Army, the I. and II., under Steinmetz, the Prussian Prince Rupert, faced Frossard's corps, which held a very strong position on the hills east of the village of Gravelotte, and immediately west of Metz. Moltke had ordered these to refrain from action until the great wheel round from the Verdun road had given time for all the German forces to stand parallel with the French. Steinmetz, however, finding King William's headquarters in his vicinity, and thinking he saw a favourable opportunity against Frossard, obtained permission about noon to commence an attack from the neighbourhood of Gravelotte. His artillery came into action in the first place, and an infantry attack in the afternoon gained the farm of St. Hubert, an advance post of the French in front of a deep wooded ravine on the Metz road. At four o'clock the Germans advanced through the ravine to deliver an assault. This was exactly what the French had looked for, and a terrible fire was poured into the enemy, now closely packed

into a narrow area. The Prussians retired in disorder; and a renewed attack, by order of the King, in the evening, was also repulsed with heavy loss. Here, as in the centre, the French more than held their own.

We must now see what went on to the north, where the French position was greatly inferior in natural strength. About 3.30 p.m. Prince Frederick Charles, with the XII. and Guard Corps, arrived at the village of St. Marie-aux-Chênes, immediately opposite the centre of the ground held by Canrobert's 6th Corps. In order to outflank the French, the XII. Corps was pushed northward, and the Prussian Guard proceeded to join up on their right with the IX. Corps, which was still in a position of extreme danger. They soon found themselves in a similar plight. A withering fire was directed on them from Ladmirault's corps as they advanced in close formation across ground destitute of cover. In hardly more than half an hour they sustained 8,000 casualties, and when at last their lines reached von Manstein's they were barely capable of holding the ground they occupied. Meanwhile the XII. Corps gradually worked their way round the French right. This was the weakest point in all the French line, yet Bazaine, holding the Imperial Guard in reserve on his left (in order to retain communication with Metz), had steadily refused all appeals for reinforcements. At 6 p.m. the XII. Corps concentrated their fresh artillery upon the village of Roncourt; and Canrobert, feeling his position menaced, abandoned the village, and retired behind the Jaumont quarries. At this critical moment the X. Corps arrived upon the scene, and, joining hands with the battered Guards

on their right and the Saxons (the XII. Corps) on the left, delivered an attack upon the village of St. Privat, which, together with 5,000 prisoners, was captured at 7.30. Only when it was too late the Imperial Guard came upon the scene. In the meantime Ladmirault had also fallen back in conjunction with Canrobert. With the collapse of the French right the victory—a real victory this time—went to the



Germans. In the small hours of the morning Bazaine drew in his defeated army under the shelter of the Metz forts, never to advance again. As usual, the victors sustained the heaviest losses: 20,584 of the Germans were killed and wounded, while the French casualties numbered 18,000, inclusive of 5,000 taken prisoners. Some 200,000 Germans were engaged, against 140,000 French.

With the defeat at St. Privat the Army of the Rhine ceased to exist as a field force, and was shut up in Metz. Bazaine, throughout the whole of the operations from 13th to 18th August, betrayed far more anxiety to keep in touch with Metz than to retreat westward and join up with the new army re-forming at Châlons. The result of all this was that, on August 19, 1870, the French people, to their dismay, saw the flower of their army besieged in a fortress which needed only a quarter of its number for the defence. This occurrence was a surprise even to von Moltke, though directly St. Privat had been fought he grasped the situation, and re-formed his armies in such a way as to be able to carry on the advance on Paris without weakening the investing lines now established round Metz. To the First Army, strengthened by the addition of the II., III., IX., and X. Corps of the Second Army—in all some 170,000 infantry and cavalry—was entrusted the duty of besieging Bazaine in Metz. This was no easy task, for the French forces numbered well-nigh 200,000, in a position strengthened by powerful fortifications. A new army, called the Army of the Meuse, was now formed by the Germans from the remaining units of the Second Army and some reserve formations. In the first place, it consisted of the Guard, IV. and XII. Corps, with the 5th and 6th Cavalry Divisions, and numbered 70,028 infantry, 16,247 cavalry, and 288 guns.

Since Wörth nothing much has been said about the Third Army under the Crown Prince of Prussia. It lay too far to the south to take part in the operations round Metz. While the First and Second Armies were grappling with the Army of the Rhine, the Crown

Prince gradually advanced his troops through the defiles of the Vosges Mountains, and moved steadily towards the west. By 12th August he bivouacked on the Saare, with his cavalry outposts pushed forward to the Seille; on the 19th he reached the Meuse, and halted here two days while the Meuse Army was formed and brought into line. The two armies then commenced a fresh advance westward on 22nd August, and rested that night along a front from Etain (on the northern road from Metz to Verdun) to Gondrecourt, on the Ornain River. Three days later—the 25th—the Third Army extended as far as Vitry, on the Marne, while the right of the Meuse Army lay in front of Verdun. Pushing forward over a wide front on the 26th, the Uhlans found the country from Châlons to Montmédy undefended.

Napoleon III. arrived by road at the Camp of Châlons, some fifteen miles north of Châlons itself, on August 18th. Here he found assembled a 12th Corps, made up of the troops who had been keeping watch upon the Spanish frontier, and the marines who had been concentrated at Cherbourg for the invasion of Schleswig-Holstein directly the Army of the Rhine had won its first victories in the south. Day by day, also, there straggled in by train or on foot the beaten armies from Wörth and their supports. After a council of war the Emperor, who had assumed command at Châlons, handed over the control to MacMahon. The customary indecision, but in ten-fold proportion, prevailed. Before Napoleon had been two days in the camp the news that Bazaine was shut up in Metz, and unable to fight his way out unassisted, became known. MacMahon advised a retreat on Paris, where a 13th Corps was in pro-

cess of formation under General Vinoy, and large numbers of mobilized but untrained reserves existed. Napoleon assented, but the Paris Government refused to listen to such a plan. Both the Empress and the new Premier, Count Palikao, represented that such an abandonment of Bazaine would be fatal to the Bonaparte dynasty.

While this uncertainty prevailed at the French headquarters, the Third German Army was known to be drawing near. On the 22nd, as a middle course, MacMahon abandoned the Camp of Châlons, the finest military camp in Europe, burnt all the stores not readily movable, and moved on Reims. Arriving too late to join the army at Châlons, the last remnants of the 7th Corps found the camp deserted, and the stores they were in desperate need of all destroyed. They hurried on therefore to the main body, and rejoined MacMahon at Reims. News came in here from Bazaine that he was about to cut his way out northward, towards Montmédy if possible; if not, towards Sedan. In view of this information, but against his better judgment, the marshal considered himself bound to go to the assistance of the Army of the Rhine. On 23rd August he left Reims, proceeding *via* Rethel, in order to utilize the stores assembled there on the railway. His army consisted of some 137,000 infantry, 16,500 cavalry, with 402 guns, made up of the 1st and 5th and 7th Corps in retreat from Wörth, and the new 12th Corps, and thirty-six squadrons of reserve cavalry. Progress was slow, and the defects in the *intendance* department, together with their previous defeats, had taken the heart out of his men. By the 28th the French outposts had crossed the river Bar, and were about five

to ten miles short of the Meuse at Stenay. Bazaine's dispositions were unknown to the French staff. That evening, however, von Moltke learnt from a paragraph in the Paris *Temps*, retransmitted from London, what MacMahon was attempting. Thereupon he turned the Third Army and the Army of the Meuse northward to meet the French. Two days later his movement had so far succeeded that the two German armies were in line from Stenay on the Meuse to Vouziers on the Aisne, and so directly between Metz and its relieving army.

As early as the 27th the opposing cavalry got into touch at Buzancy. Aware that his path was blocked, and the passages of the Meuse were already in the hands of the enemy, MacMahon, on the evening of the 27th, gave orders for a retreat on Mézières, towards which the Government hurried up the 13th Corps, under Vinoy, from the capital. Driven to desperation by a fresh advice from Palikao, "If you desert Bazaine there will be a revolution in Paris," he countermanded these orders early on the 28th and moved towards Montmédy, in the hope of effecting a crossing there. On the 29th he abandoned this plan, and determined instead to seek a passage higher up at Mouzon and Remilly. Indeed, the 12th Corps actually crossed at Mouzon, but were then delayed by the other corps lagging behind. De Failly's corps, always doing the wrong thing, holding back when they were wanted, going forward when they ought to hold their ground, now advanced directly on the enemy in the direction of Stenay, and got into touch with them in the village of Nouart. But during the late afternoon MacMahon succeeded in recalling this erring corps, and they encamped at Beaumont about

4 a.m. on the morning of the 30th. Neglecting to take adequate measures against a surprise attack by the enemy, who were known to be near, about 1 p.m. the 5th Corps suddenly found themselves the objective of a heavy artillery fire. Attacked by the German IV. Corps, supported by Saxons and Bavarians, together with the advance guard of the XII. Corps, the French were forced back to the northward, retiring under the shelter of the guns of the 12th Corps. In this action the French lost 3,000 prisoners, besides a considerable number of killed and wounded. The German casualties were 3,500. MacMahon realized that the attempt to cross at Mouzon was hopeless in face of the imminent attack of a large hostile force. The corps which had already crossed were recalled, and during the night of the 30th the entire French army fell back on the small fortified town of Sedan.

XVII.

THE DOWNFALL.

AWAY on the eastern frontier of France lies the small town of Sedan, in the department of Ardennes. It has about twenty thousand inhabitants, and its staple industry is the manufacture of cloth. This was the birthplace of the greatest of the generals of *le roi soleil*, Louis XIV.—Marshal Turenne. The square in the centre of the town takes its name, the Place Turenne, from him, and is adorned with his statue. Close to this square flows the river Meuse, a broad and swirling torrent, the plash of whose waters is wont to break the stillness of night. Proceeding from the Place Turenne across the bridge is a broad street, which crosses the Meuse Canal a couple of hundred yards or so beyond the river, and then bifurcates in the suburb of Torcy, one road going to the railway station, the other leading through the village of Donchery, some three or four miles westward, to the fortified town of Mézières-Charleville.

In 1870 Sedan was surrounded by a large stone rampart, which zigzagged round the town. Most of these ancient fortifications have recently been removed, but their site can easily be traced out. Here and there great pieces of the walls still remain. On the western side flows the river Meuse, while to the

north and east the ground slopes up towards the heights of Hattoy, Illy, Givonne, Daigny, and La Moncelle. Broad level fields, easily flooded from the Meuse, afford ample protection on the south and west. The whole position roughly represents an inclined plane shaped like a piece of cheese. If this be imagined placed north and south, with the highest part towards the north, along the northern ridge are, in order, from west to east, the heights of Floing, Illy, and Givonne, with the detached Hattoy hill as a kind of advanced post between Floing and Illy. Bordering the long western face runs the river Meuse, and beneath the eastern face a small tributary called the Givonne; these two unite at the southern end of the figure in the village of Bazeilles. Imagine now that a knife has been placed from the south-west corner to the north-east, and the cheese cut into a plane sloping down to nothing at the north-west, and you have a fair idea of the irregular plateau upon which, half-way along the western side, the town of Sedan stands.

The position is one of considerable natural strength, but it has the great disadvantage of standing in the centre of a saucer-shaped depression. Round the edge of the saucer are hills which command the plateau from every side. Not only that, but the slopes of the surrounding hills are all overgrown by the immense Forest of the Ardennes, which affords magnificent cover for artillery, and serves as a screen for the manœuvres of a hostile force. On the other hand, the Sedan plateau is itself destitute of trees except towards the north-east, where, above the village of Givonne, stands the bois de la Garenne, the scene of some of the most desperate of the fighting.

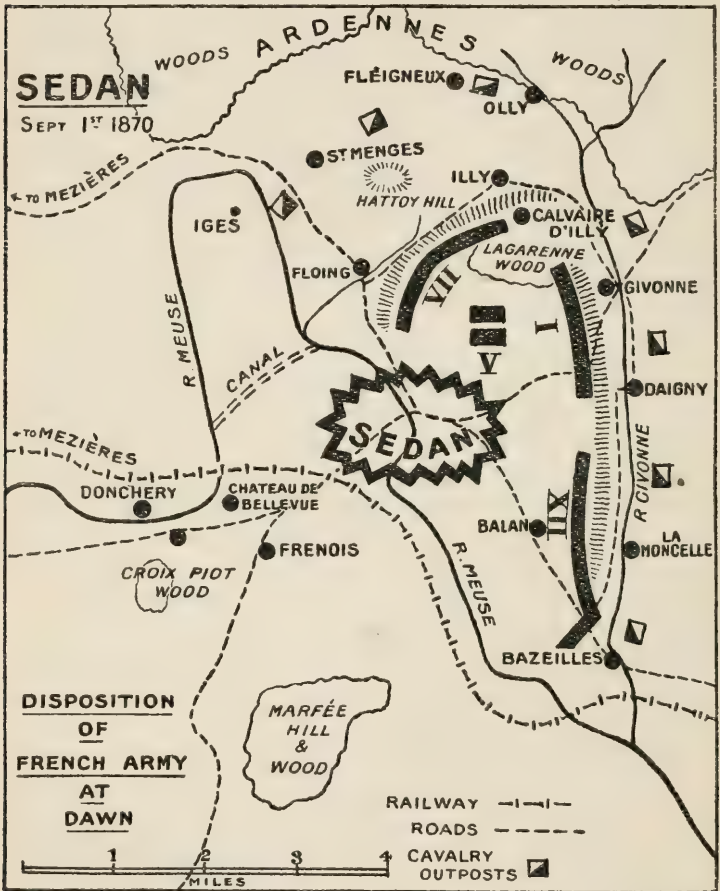
The Emperor Napoleon arrived with the Prince Imperial at Sedan on the night of 30th August, and took up his residence at the Sous-Préfecture, a large, modern house a few yards across the Meuse from the Place Turenne. The next day, the 31st, the prince was sent away to safety in Belgium. All that day French troops poured into the narrow streets of the town, struggling together in one immense maelstrom of confusion. Gradually the units were sorted out and disposed to their various stations towards the north and east and south. For defence on the west, the Meuse was considered sufficient.

As the sun set on the night of 31st August each battalion bivouacked in its appointed place. Weary with their long march from Châlons—some had even come from Wörth and Belfort—the men lay down to sleep in the gathering darkness.

The morning of the fatal 1st September at last dawned. A thick fog hung over the valley of the Meuse, and for a time hindered operations. But the outposts of the hostile forces being in touch with one another quickly came into conflict. A general engagement ensued, which neither side seems to have intended to enter upon until the following day, both armies being in need of rest.

Marshal MacMahon disposed his troops as follows : To the south, between the two rivers Meuse and Givonne, the 12th Corps were placed, with orders to hold the village of Bazeilles at all costs. A party of engineers dammed the Meuse so as to flood all the district west of the Sedan-Balan-Bazeilles road. Along the top of the slope, above the Givonne valley to the east, stretched the 1st Corps, which held the passages of

the stream below, and the villages of Daigny and Givonne. The 7th Corps held the northern face of



the plateau and the exposed Hattoy hill, a great mound shaped like an inverted pudding-basin, rising up confronting their centre from the plain

beneath. The remnant of the 5th Corps was posted as a reserve behind the bois de la Garenne, close under the ramparts of the town.

As the sun rose and the deep mist from the river dispersed, the Germans advanced to the attack at Bazeilles, and a desperate engagement ensued. The French generals were in complete ignorance of the overwhelming forces of the enemy which were closing in upon them. They imagined that all they had to deal with was the Army of the Meuse, led by the Crown Prince of Saxony, consisting of three army corps, the IV., XII., and the Prussian Guards, with two cavalry divisions—in all, 70,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry and 288 guns. Against these Marshal MacMahon had about four army corps—the 1st, 5th, 7th, and 12th, and some thirty-six squadrons of reserve cavalry—a total of rather less than 130,000 men, supported by some 400 guns, and about a hundred mitrailleuses. Owing to their defective intelligence department, the French generals did not know until the battle was all but over that their army was held as in a vice between the German Army of the Meuse on the east, and the Third Army, commanded by the Crown Prince of Prussia, rapidly advancing from the south-west.

When the battle opened in the early morning of 1st September, the dispositions of the German armies were made in this fashion. On the eastern side of the river Givonne, above the villages of Bazeilles, La Moncelle, and Daigny, the XII. Saxon Corps faced the French 12th Corps, with half the IV. Corps as a reserve. Further to the north the Corps of Prussian Guards opposed the French 1st Corps. The II. Bavarian Corps were stationed at the point where

the Givonne flows into the Meuse, immediately to the south of Bazeilles. It was their duty not only to attack Bazeilles, but also to act as a link between the Meuse Army on the east and the Third Army on the west. This Third Army at daybreak was ranged beyond the river along the wooded slopes of the Liry, Marfée, and Croix-Piot hills. The corps composing it were the V., the XI., the I. and II. Bavarian, the Würtemberg division, and some stray cavalry. In addition, the VI. Corps was rapidly approaching.

The French army was outnumbered by two to one. The German forces, encouraged by their overwhelming successes, were keen and enthusiastic, while the French were perplexed, distressed, weary, and hungry after their long marching, and their commissariat department had fallen into confusion under the strain of the retreat from Beaumont. Many of the men were half-starving and mutinous. And most miserable of all was the Emperor, who, but a month before, had been in command of the entire forces of the first military power in Europe. Now, having abandoned his command, desperately ill, weary of his life, overwhelmed by the sufferings of his soldiers, unable to return to his capital, with the Empress imperiously demanding of him to undergo such miseries as should strike pity into the heart of Europe and secure the throne for his son, he was carted about in the train of his army, with all the misplaced magnificence of the imperial household—a useless encumbrance.

Unaware that he had two armies against him, MacMahon laid his plans for breaking out towards the south to effect the hoped-for junction with Ba-

zaine. But no general orders were issued for the day, and in consequence units fought haphazard when battle was joined. Directly it was clear that a serious attack was being made by the Germans, the marshal directed Bazeilles to be held at all costs, and himself rode off in that direction. About half-past six in the morning he was wounded in the thigh by a shell, and carried from the field.

Soon after six o'clock the Emperor, after a sleepless night, with great difficulty mounted his horse and rode out from his quarters in the Sous-Préfecture along the Balan-Bazeilles road with his staff. Making their way slowly along the encumbered, bullet-swept highway, they met a small procession bringing the wounded marshal into the town. Napoleon stopped and addressed a few words of sympathy to MacMahon, and passed on. At the cross-roads, by the entrance to Bazeilles, the Emperor turned his horse's head towards La Moncelle, and passed along the lines of the 12th Corps. From the 12th Corps, proceeding along the pleasant, wooded valley of the Givonne, he visited the hard-pressed 1st Corps, posted above the village of Givonne itself, that in his misery and dejection he might have the rare consolation of sharing in their sufferings too. Eventually, towards eleven o'clock, unable to die, he turned his steps once more in the direction of the town, and re-entered the Sous-Préfecture.

In the meantime, much had been happening to the army. When Marshal MacMahon was wounded, the command devolved upon General Ducrot, who was in charge of the 1st Corps. Aware of the dangerous position of his army, he issued orders instantly that the whole body of troops should assemble at

Illy, and fight their way out westward towards Mézières, in order to join the 13th Corps under General Vinoy. This move was a dangerous one as the V. and XI. Corps of the Third Army had crossed the Meuse at Donchery, directly between Sedan and Mézières. To make matters worse, General de Wimpffen, who had only arrived from Algeria a few hours before, rode up and produced a secret order from the War Office in Paris constituting him—should anything befall MacMahon—commander-in-chief of the army of Châlons. A violent quarrel ensued; but de Wimpffen gained his point. The result was a fresh change in tactics. The retreating soldiers of the 12th Corps were ordered to advance afresh against the positions they had evacuated in the Bazeilles neighbourhood, and the new commander announced that he was going to drive the Bavarians into the Meuse, and cut his way through to join Bazaine at Metz. De Wimpffen knew that Ducrot's plan would be rendered useless by the Germans, who were in force at Donchery, blocking the Mézières road; but he did not yet know he had two armies opposed to him. What he did see, however, was that he was surrounded on every side, and would have to fight his way out in whichever direction he turned. Like a caged lion, he threw himself against the bars in the vain hope of escape.

Meanwhile, the French troops at Bazeilles had resisted the Bavarian Marines with desperate bravery. The inhabitants of the village lent them all the aid they could. Step by step, however, they were forced back, until, at 10 a.m., the only house in their possession was the small tavern on the Sedan side now called "*A la dernière cartouche.*" Here a handful of

brave Frenchmen under Commandant Lambert resisted for several hours an attack by the 15th Bavarian Regiment of the line. The house, the only one left standing in the village after the battle, still remains in much the same condition as when the French resistance was finally broken down; it shelters a museum of battle relics.

At the same hour, 10 a.m., the V. and VI. Corps of the Germans, which had started to cross the Meuse at Donchery at 6 a.m., were closing in on the French from the north. At noon their encircling movement was practically complete. The armies of the Crown Prince held the villages of St. Menges and Olly on the north; to the eastward the French had been driven out of the villages of Givonne, Daigny, and La Moncelle backward on the heights above the Givonne stream. In the south Bazeilles was in the hands of the Bavarians, and some of these had occupied the low-lying and flooded ground between the highroad to Sedan and the Meuse. By 2 p.m. a girdle of steel held the French in a mighty grip, which, despite the desperate valour of their cavalry, who charged time after time along the line Illy-Floing, it was beyond their power to break through. Not only was the German infantry circle complete, but from every surrounding hill their artillery belched forth death and destruction. "Sedan," says Colonel Pratt, "was essentially an artillery battle."* This quiet country district, for all the world like our English Somerset, with rich pastures and ripe orchards, and shady woods and pleasant streams, had become an inferno on earth, and was about to achieve its destiny and become the grave of an empire.

* *Saarbrück to Paris*, p. 163.

Napoleon III. spent the afternoon pacing up and down his room at the Sous-Préfecture, tormented by the horrible sufferings of his army. Outside, the air resounded with the din and roar of the hostile artillery. Within, the wretched man felt himself helpless as he walked backwards and forwards, exclaiming at intervals: "Oh, those guns, those guns!" "Oh, gentlemen, what misery! what misery!" "Will it never finish?" "Oh! why such horrors? Why so many deaths?" "My God! my God!"

So the afternoon wore on. About three o'clock Napoleon ordered the white flag to be hoisted at the Torcy Gate. But this produced no effect, as the Emperor, in neglect of the laws of war, omitted to send a messenger to parley with the enemy. By five o'clock the French army were driven back right under the walls of the town. The streets of Sedan were in great disorder. Men and horses, and guns and wagons and caissons blocked the roadway in utter confusion. The struggling soldiers, maddened by the carnage, and torn by pangs of hunger, invaded shops and houses in search of food and drink. No longer had their officers any authority whatever. No stores, provisions, or munitions existed to enable a siege to be sustained. On every side the Prussian guns dominated the situation. To show the uselessness of further resistance, late in the afternoon they commenced a bombardment of the town itself. Surrender was inevitable. The only hope of the French was that the conditions laid upon them would be merciful and honourable. General de Wimpffen, who had hoped against hope to the very last, and had persistently refused the Emperor's entreaties, at last saw that resistance was

useless, and about 8 p.m. negotiations on the basis of surrender were entered into with King William of Prussia, Bismarck, and von Moltke. Napoleon made one last attempt to save his soldiers the shame of capitulation. He opened the negotiations by writing to the King of Prussia a personal letter, placing himself unreservedly in his hands as a prisoner of war. The dignity and simplicity of its brief contents make the letter worthy of repetition :—

“ Sire, my Brother,—Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty.

“ I am, your Majesty’s good Brother,

“ NAPOLEON.”

This was the communication with which General Reille passed through the Torcy Gate at eight in the evening on his way to the King of Prussia. It fell as a bombshell upon the Germans, who had no idea that the Emperor was present in the field. William accepted the sword of Napoleon, and requested General de Wimpffen, as commander of the French forces, to negotiate with Herr von Bismarck and General von Moltke.

Archibald Forbes, the great war correspondent, tells us how he spent the night of 1st September in the inn at Donchery, where Bismarck was staying. Bismarck came into the parlour, and announced the surrender of Napoleon III., afterwards drinking to the health of King and Fatherland. And while in the gathering darkness the small company sat together, there arose from afar in the stillness of even the sound of many voices. Away to the west, in an

immense circle, stretched the flames of the camp fires of a quarter of a million men. These men, in their Lutheran zeal, had risen up to render thanks to God for their mighty deliverance. From every side, as the news of the surrender penetrated from corps to corps, were wafted the strains of the great hymn, "*Nun danket*"—"Now thank we all our God." The Chancellor himself, true to his character of an Old Testament warrior, retired into the privacy of his little bare chamber to give his God the praise.

Although very early the next morning Forbes was up and about, he found Bismarck had been stirring before him. Proceeding with a companion along the highroad towards Sedan at a little after seven, the two met a carriage full of French officers rather less than a mile out of Donchery. One of them attracted special attention. Forbes stopped his companion. "Look!" he exclaimed, "it's Napoleon." It was indeed. There, in the imperial carriage, sat the last of the French emperors. His face was yellow and worn with pain. The eyes had their usual dreamy expression. But beyond this no more could be read. Napoleon's face was the face of a sphinx. A moment later Count Bismarck came up with the Emperor, saluted, turned about, and the procession moved on towards Donchery. Napoleon whispered something into his conqueror's ear. The carriage was halted. Napoleon and Bismarck dismounted and entered a small wayside cottage on the left of the road, the first in a row of three, occupied by a weaver named Fournaise. The door was at the back. They passed in, and went upstairs into the mean little sitting-room. After a time the two reappeared, and a couple of rush-seated chairs were

placed for them beneath the front windows of the cottage. Bismarck did all the talking, beating his first finger against his palm as he spoke. Napoleon, according to his wont, listened in gloomy silence. While this was going on, the French officers, as there were not chairs enough, lay down upon the grass bank between the cottages and the *chaussée*, beyond which, at the foot of a gentle slope, flowed the troubled waters of the Meuse. After an hour von Moltke joined them, and presently rode off to Donchery with Bismarck. This redoubtable pair purposely kept King William out of the way at Vendresse, lest Napoleon should win from him better terms for his beaten soldiers. When they had gone, for some time the Emperor walked up and down a potato patch beside the house, smoking his inevitable cigarettes; afterwards he returned to his chair. Here, about 10 a.m., a troop of soldiers surrounded him, and, mounting the carriage again, he was driven off a prisoner to the château de Bellevue, which lay hard by. As he left the cottage the Emperor handed four louis to Madame Fournaise, saying to her as he did so, "Pray accept these in return for your kindness and hospitality. It is, I suppose, the last I shall ever receive in France."

An hour later General de Wimpffen surrendered his entire army, unconditionally, as prisoners to the victorious von Moltke. The French casualties in the battle had been 17,000 men killed and wounded, and 21,000 prisoners. There remained 83,000 to surrender. It was arranged these should pile arms in the Place Turenne, where the grim old marshal looked down on them with sympathy, and afterwards be marched off to the peninsula of Iges, a large tract of land formed by the canal and a bend in the

Meuse, whence they should be moved away gradually into Germany.

Early that afternoon, when the capitulation had been finally adjusted, the King of Prussia visited the fallen emperor at the *château de Bellevue*. Napoleon saluted King William on the steps, and took him inside. But their interview was not a long one, and was over in less than half an hour. How different was this meeting from the last gathering of the two monarchs! As they talked now the minds of both must have gone back to the glorious magnificence of the pageantry in Paris in 1867, in the midst of the great Exhibition. On that occasion King William had ridden out on the right hand of the Emperor, his honoured guest, to witness in the *bois de Boulogne* the review of 150,000 of the bravest of France's soldiers. And now! The Emperor Napoleon III. and an army of his almost as great as that assembled before him on that memorable occasion three years ago, humbled and beaten, were prisoners in the hand of the King of Prussia.

As you walk out from Sedan towards Donchery the village lies due westward, so that on a fine day at sunset its roofs and the spire of its ancient church stand out silhouetted against the crimson sky. Two miles out of Sedan a narrow byroad turns off on the right hand. A hundred or two yards along this, on the Donchery side, is situate, with its back to the road, the *château of Bellevue*—in reality a moderate-sized country-house built of three detached portions, joined to one another by glass passage ways. A terrace runs along the front of the building, and below it stretch away pleasant meadows leading down to the Meuse, which flows a short distance below. In-

side, the château, when it received the Emperor as guest, offered little comfort. German soldiers had already pillaged it, and marked its contents for their own. The very blankets from the beds were gone. So when the Emperor retired to rest on the night of 2nd September—the last night he ever spent in France—his few attendants were obliged to take down the heavy curtains from the windows to give him warmth. From his bedroom window Napoleon looked out towards the west—towards Donchery, and Mézières, and Reims, and that Paris which he would see no more. Inexorable fate was now about to sever him for ever from his charming homes at Pierrefonds, and Compiègne, and St. Cloud, and Fontainebleau. Paris, with the great imperial palace of the Tuileries and the new Louvre, with its broad, straight streets, spacious parks, tree-lined avenues and boulevards, and world-famed magnificence of architecture, would see him—its second founder—no more. Never again would the crowd stand aside and gaze in respectful silence, varied by an occasional “Vive l’Empereur!” as he, the Emperor, passed rapidly along the streets in his imperial chariot. For thirty-six hours more the Empress would rule France. Then Frenchmen would, in their fury at the disaster of Sedan, tear the eagle from the tricolour, the “N” monogram of the imperial house from all public buildings, the royal names from a hundred, nay a thousand, streets of their native land.

But the West is the land of the setting sun. It had set angrily that night, in saffron, not in crimson, as if in sympathy for the troubles of France and of her ruler. Napoleon was not the man to fail to read the omen of that sunset and its mood. Sedan was,

indeed, the grave of his empire. And as the Emperor meditated upon this, his past life rose up before him. There came before his eyes the vision of himself as a boy beside his elder brother, undergoing his baptism of fire amid the bullets of the Pontiff's Guards. He thought of his early attempts at the attainment of his destiny. He recalled how, after the death of Napoleon's son and his own brother, he had fought single-handed and alone for the restoration of the government and ideals of his uncle, the greatest of all Frenchmen. He saw his literary efforts directed towards this end, and thought of the personal dangers he had undergone. He remembered how he had been made a prisoner at Strasbourg, and was shipped off by a weak and timorous government to America. Then he saw himself back in Switzerland beside the death-bed of his mother, Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine. And then once again in London, immersed in the whirl of society, yet ever mindful of his destiny. His thoughts passed on to his disastrous failure in Boulogne, and to the six long years of weary and monotonous imprisonment at Ham. Then at last the tide had turned, and his countrymen had called him to high office. He saw his star rise. He was now deputy, now President of the Republic, now Emperor. What a wonderful year was 1853 for him! The first year of the Empire! The year he married the most beautiful woman in Europe! How brilliant were the first ten years of empire! Strong in the attachment of his subjects, in times of unparalleled prosperity and progress, he had been loved at home and feared abroad. For the first time for half a century France had exercised her rights in the councils of Europe, and statesmen of



THE MEETING OF NAPOLEON III. AND BISMARCK AFTER SEDAN.

every country had paid homage to the wisdom and magnanimity of Napoleon III. Then had his power and glory been at the zenith. But at last the tide began to ebb. France wearied of success. Disease began to tear him by its torments. Mexico brought humiliation and disaster. Now was the time of Bismarck's ascent. Before the unscrupulous diplomacy, the blustering methods, of his rival he had been fooled over Austria and Italy and Luxembourg. Then he had lost faith in his own star. His destiny seemed eclipsed, his glories past. Forced into war by the headstrongness of his people, and the calculating mendacity of Bismarck, he had entered upon the campaign with little confidence and much horror. And at last all was over. Now his army was defeated and captured, he himself a prisoner. His empire lay in ruins. His own body was racked with pain. Only an indomitable will enabled him to bear up, and to maintain a calm dignity in face of such amazing misfortunes.

Tired out, the Emperor took up a book, and, lying down on the bed, tried to read himself to sleep. When he could read no more he turned the book over and placed it open, face downwards, on the table at his bedside. The next night, when he was gone, Archibald Forbes slept in the same room. Out of curiosity he picked up the book and looked at it. No title could have borne a more tragic significance. It was found to be a French translation of Lytton's *Last of the Barons*.

What was the character of Napoleon III.? If genius be a capacity for taking infinite pains, Napoleon III. was a genius. If genius be the possession of some great quality in supreme measure, Napoleon

was no genius. His success was due to his long meditations upon the nature of the French people. He understood in an extraordinary degree what Frenchmen wanted, and he gave it them. His failure was due to political agitation at home, and to visionary schemes abroad. He negotiated with sovereigns abroad as if they were governed by the temperament of Frenchmen. A philosopher and a dreamer, he sought to base his foreign policy rather upon ideas than upon facts. Reality crushed him.

Some men took Napoleon III. for a fool, others for a god. In point of fact, he was neither. He was just an ordinary man, who sought to make the best use of his opportunities.

XVIII.

PARIS BESIEGED.

NAPOLEON III. awoke on the morning of 3rd September to find himself once more, after a lapse of thirty years, a prisoner. Later on in the day he was driven off across the battlefield, still crowded with stragglers from the French army, on his way to Germany. Rain beat down pitilessly upon the fallen Emperor and his escort as, avoiding the town of Sedan, they made their way to the Belgian frontier by a circuitous route. Arriving at the frontier, the commandant of Bouillon, Colonel Charmet, called upon the party, Germans and French, to surrender if they wished to pass into neutral territory. Napoleon and his friends, therefore, gave themselves up, and were taken to the hôtel de la Poste at Bouillon, and lodged there for the night. The hotel still stands, much as it was then, and the small chamber of the Emperor, a corner room on the top floor overlooking the river Semoy, is easily recognizable by the curious traveller. On 4th September the final stage of the journey from Bouillon to the castle of Wilhelmshöhe, in Hesse-Cassel, was commenced. As the train left Verviers station next morning the Emperor heard a newspaper boy shouting the news of his dethronement and the fall of his dynasty. He had managed to get a telegram through to the

Empress on 2nd September, announcing the surrender of his army and himself to the King of Prussia.

On the evening of the capitulation of Sedan Paris was full of rumours of disaster, though the Government maintained strict silence. The next day they were obliged to admit the irretrievable disaster which had befallen the French arms. The Cabinet of General Count Palikao was dismissed, and the Empress sent Prosper Mérimée to invite the aid of Thiers, the king-maker in 1830 and 1848, but to no purpose; the old man refused to have anything to do with the old *régime*, feeling that the time had come when Frenchmen would call him to control their destinies in the hour of their country's humiliation. Meanwhile a bloodless revolution had taken place in the capital. Faced by the crisis which had arisen, the Corps Législatif adjourned their sittings on 3rd September until the next day, while M. Rouher dismissed the senators with the words, "*Messieurs, demain.*" But no to-morrow came for them. Just as an invasion of the Chamber of Deputies destroyed all hope of the preservation of the Orleans dynasty in 1848, so history repeated itself in 1870. A mob broke up the sittings of the Corps Législatif on 4th September, declared the Empire at an end, pronounced the *déchéance* of the Emperor Napoleon III., and formed a provisional "Government of National Defence" out of the members of the anti-dynastic Opposition. After Gambetta had proclaimed the Republic from the steps of the Palais Bourbon, these gentlemen retired to the Hôtel de Ville, and the Palais Bourbon was shut up. At the head of the new Government General Trochu, the military governor of Paris, was placed, with Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Garnier-Pagès,

Crémieux, Jules Simon, and others as coadjutors. This done, the crowd proceeded across the Seine from the Chamber of Deputies to the Tuileries. Here the Empress was warned by her attendants that they could not be dispersed without bloodshed, and the forces at the disposal of her household were almost certainly unequal to a successful resistance. Opposed to any shedding of blood, the Empress agreed to seek refuge in flight. But this was no easy matter, as the crowd in the place du Carrousel had swelled to enormous proportions, and was even then hammering at the iron railings of the Tuileries courtyard. The Austrian and Italian ambassadors, M. Metternich and M. Nigra, who had an especial interest in the overthrow of the imperial government which had confidently reckoned on the support of their countries, came and offered their services to the Empress. Dismissing all her attendants save one, Madame Lebreton, the Empress fled hurriedly without luggage, just as she was, leaving behind her handbag open on the table, and even her purse. The party crossed through the pavillon de Flore into the corridors of the Louvre; once they came to a stop, because a door was locked and the key not forthcoming. Eventually all difficulties were surmounted, and the Empress Eugénie and her companions found themselves in the street before the colonnade du Louvre, and immediately opposite the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, whose bell had once sounded the alarm for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Empress passed unrecognized, except for a newspaper boy's cry of "Voilà l'Impératrice!" Hailing a fiacre, the ambassadors hastily placed the fugitive Empress and her attendant in it, and sent them

off. The occupants drove round to some friends of the imperial family, but found them away from home. Eventually in the afternoon they arrived at the house of Dr. Evans, the Court dentist. The next day, 5th September, Dr. Evans took the Empress by road to Trouville, whence she sailed across to England in Sir John Burgoyne's yacht, and landed at Ryde. From here, a day or two later, she went on to Hastings, where she joined the Prince Imperial, who had remained in safety in Belgium since the eve of Sedan. Shortly afterwards, being desirous of more privacy, the Empress and Prince took up their residence at Camden Place, Chislehurst. A strange negotiation was now opened by a man named Régnier, of whom nothing else whatever is known. Having induced the Prince Imperial (when at Hastings) to sign the back of a photograph, and provided with a Prussian passport, he visited Bismarck at Ferrières on 19th September, and proposed a plan for the restoration of the Empire. He next passed on to the headquarters of Prince Frederick Charles, and was allowed to enter Metz. After a long interview with Bazaine he gained permission for General Bourbaki to pay a visit to Chislehurst. On Bourbaki's arrival he was astounded to learn that the Empress knew nothing whatever of Régnier, and could take no steps for a treaty of peace. The episode thus ended. There is, however, little doubt that Régnier was a Prussian agent, and that Bismarck was inclined at this time to assist in the restoration of Napoleon III.

After a lapse of eighteen years France was again without any legal government. The Emperor Napoleon III., old, ill, and a prisoner, was cast off like a discarded garment. The regency of the Empress

Eugénie failed to withstand the shock of Sedan, and she herself became a fugitive. It seemed as though Nemesis had fallen upon the author of the *coup d'état*; yet if the third Bonaparte had been a plotter and schemer, the nation as a whole had connived at his proceedings. Time after time the *plébiscite* had expressed the country's confidence in him. Even when the general elections ran steadily against the projects of his government, the people had rallied round their old sovereign. Less than four months before his fall the *plébiscite* of 8th May brought an overwhelming personal triumph to the Emperor. Prince Bismarck himself, anticipating the 4th September, hardly realized that the events of that day would be final as regards the dynasty of Napoleon. In conversation at the dinner table at Commercy on 23rd August he spoke of a conquered France ruled by "no Bourbons, no Orleans; perhaps Lulu, perhaps the fat Napoleon, perhaps the old Bonaparte again." Throughout the early negotiations with the Government of National Defence, whether actuated by prejudice or policy, he persisted in regarding the possibility of the resuscitation of Napoleon III.

A heavy responsibility fell upon the Provisional Government. An influential proportion of public men still clung to the fallen emperor. General Trochu, distrusted under the imperial *régime*, was suspected of being an Orleanist; while a grave menace consisted in the men of the red flag. At the beginning the Socialists, who were determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war to the utmost extremity, accorded their support to the Government of National Defence, in which, however, they went unrepresented. This threatened strife between moderate Republicans

and wild Socialists was only a repetition of the struggle between Cavaignac and Louis Blanc in 1848. But now the problem was complicated by the disastrous war in which the country was engaged. At the very moment the new government was born a victorious enemy was advancing rapidly on the capital. By 6th September the Prussians were at Reims. Already men fancied them hammering at the gates of Paris. The military situation was desperate. Strasbourg was invested. Toul was invested. Bazaine was shut up in Metz with nearly 200,000 soldiers, including the Imperial Guard, the flower of the French army. The army sent to his relief, after a crushing defeat, had surrendered, and at that very time its 83,000 men were slowly marching in the pouring rain towards their prisons in Germany. One bright spot alone lighted up the universal gloom. General Vinoy, with masterly skill, had succeeded in withdrawing his army corps from Mézières after the disaster at Sedan, and had brought them to Paris as the nucleus of an army for the defence of the capital.

As the Prussians advanced nearer and nearer to the capital the Provisional Government took measures for an appeal to the European Powers, and the organization of an army of defence. On 12th September Thiers was sent off on a mission to the capitals of Europe, beseeching the intervention of neutrals on behalf of his oppressed country. His mission met with no success whatever. London and St. Petersburg received him with friendliness and sympathy, but declared their inability to interfere. Before he set out, Jules Favre, who had become Vice-President of the Government of National Defence and Minister for Foreign Affairs, issued a circular to the French

diplomatic agents abroad, declaring that France would not give up "an inch of her territory or a stone of her fortresses," and would only treat for a lasting and honourable peace. In this spirit the Government took up the preparation of the Army of Paris; while the popular mind was still persuaded that an awakened France would be able to drive her enemies over the frontier. In addition to Vinoy's 13th Corps, a fresh corps of regulars, the 14th, was established. To these regulars were added 115,000 Gardes Mobiles and nearly 130,000 National Guards. Since their insubordination at Châlons the bulk of the Gardes Mobiles had been assembled in the capital; the National Guards, who had played a sinister part in the earlier revolutions, were a poor reed for the friends of order to lean upon. Paris having been the base for the Army of the Rhine, large stores of food had been accumulated there, which were largely added to when it appeared likely the capital would have to withstand a siege.

Provisions sufficient for several months' resistance were available, though no one had believed such an eventuality would be necessary, or even possible. The general opinion in Paris was that the Germans would have insufficient forces to encircle the fortifications, extending around a circumference of more than twenty miles. And indeed the Germans were taking a bold risk, for, after deducting the armies necessary for containing the strong French forces in Strasbourg, Toul, and Metz, and for guarding the prisoners of Sedan, only some 147,000 men remained for besieging the French capital. These were supported by some 622 field guns, but were deficient in heavy artillery.

Jules Favre made one great effort to buy off the Prussians as their armies neared Paris. On 19th September—the day the siege began—he proceeded to Haute Maison, and had an interview with Count Bismarck. The following day he continued this conversation with the Prussian Minister at Ferrières, the princely seat of Baron Rothschild. He met with no success. His credentials as the representative of France were openly questioned. His provocative circular of 6th September, which had come to the knowledge of Bismarck, was brought to his remembrance. To the demand for the cession of Alsace-Lorraine Favre dared not agree. On his part, the Chancellor refused to allow an armistice for the election of a National Assembly unless some military compensation were afforded him in exchange for the advantages the French army would gain from this temporary cessation of hostilities. As Favre was bound by his circular and by popular opinion not to concede an inch of territory or a stone of a fortress, he was obliged to refuse this latter stipulation. The negotiations, therefore, fell through, and Paris settled down to the grim business of sustaining a siege.

During the first few weeks very little happened to disturb the ordinary life of the capital, except that there were no letters, and no news penetrated from outside. Paris very soon accommodated herself to the new order of things. How was she defended? On the north-west by the river Seine, while from Mont Valérien there stretched a vast chain of forts extending over three-quarters of the circumference of a circle, the last one being at St. Denis. These were, in order, the forts of Mont Valérien, Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bicêtre, Ivry,

Charenton, Rosny, Noisy, Romainville, and St. Denis. An attempt had been made in early September to prepare fortifications beyond these on the ring of hills that encircle Paris; but the work of years could not be done in days, and on the swift advance of the Germans these commanding positions fell into their hands. As long as the Germans were not possessed of powerful siege artillery, Paris was, while supplies lasted, practically impregnable. On the other hand, General Trochu realized that his business was to keep the immense forces opposed to him occupied until fresh armies should have been gathered together in the provinces and dispatched to his relief. To fight his way out, could he have done it, would have been to abandon the capital, with its enormous stores, to the enemy. In consequence there is, from the military point of view, a certain tameness about the siege of Paris. For the most part an intermittent cannonade was the usual occupation of the hostile armies. M. Sarcey tells us that every day the city expected the bombardment which never came. "Tous les jours on nous disait: Vous savez, c'est pour demain, ou après-demain au plus tard. On nous l'annonçait pour le 9, puis pour le 14, anniversaire de la bataille d'Iéna, puis pour le 27, anniversaire de l'entrée de Napoléon à Berlin, puis pour le jour de fête de Guillaume, d'Augusta, de Fritz." The German method of warfare—the theatrical demonstrations, the relentless cruelty, the limitless devastation—is ever the same.

On 23rd September Toul fell, and some 30,000 Prussians were released to strengthen the besiegers of Paris. Four days later, Strasbourg, which had been poorly garrisoned but bravely defended, surrendered after a gallant resistance of thirty days. This set

free another German army corps to join up with the besieging forces round Paris. By the end of the third week the total of this besieging force swelled from 147,000 to 250,000 men. These held a line which early in September the Parisian newspapers had boasted would require at least a million and a half.

On 28th October General Trochu, whose health did not allow him to take the field in person, organized a successful sortie, by which the village of Le Bourget was captured. This temporary success heartened the populace. But only for a moment. Close upon the top of it came the news of the surrender of Metz, which had occurred on the 27th. Bismarck took care this should be known at once in Paris. A feeling of exasperation took possession of the capital. The flames of indignation were fanned by the news of the evacuation of Le Bourget on the 30th, and by rumours that Thiers, back from his fruitless errand, was supposed to be negotiating terms of peace with Bismarck, who, with King William and von Moltke, was now in residence at Versailles. That fatal impatience, so characteristic of the Parisian mob, manifested itself in a serious riot on 31st October. Several regiments of the National Guards, urged on by Blanqui and Flourens, attacked the Hôtel de Ville and shut up Trochu, Ferry, and others there as prisoners. They then named a fresh government, but the members of it failed to put in an appearance. Fortunately the Minister of Finance, M. Ernest Picard, had managed to escape from the uproar at the Town Hall; while events hung in the balance he succeeded in gathering together a few battalions of loyal Gardes Mobiles from Brittany, who rescued the prisoners,

and by their firmness stamped out this fresh outbreak of incipient revolution. The ringleaders were arrested and sentenced to mild terms of imprisonment.

Thiers was in negotiation with Count von Bismarck at Versailles from 1st to 6th November. As the European courts professed their inability to help him, he, on their advice, made a last desperate appeal to the Prussian Minister himself. He demanded an armistice which should allow Paris to be reprovisioned, and the country left undisturbed for the election of a National Assembly. As he was prepared to give no compensation to the Prussians for this advantage, these negotiations, like those at Ferrières, broke down, and on 6th November Jules Favre ordered him to desist from his efforts.

We must now glance at the state of the government in France at that time. When the siege of Paris was imminent the Government of National Defence dispatched some of their agents to set up a provincial government at Tours. These included Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin, and Fourichon. The *personnel* of this body was greatly strengthened when, on 9th October, Gambetta made his historic escape from the capital in a balloon. His advent at Tours, full of restless energy and fiery patriotism, proved a great strength. Though ignorant of military affairs, and merely a Parisian lawyer, he gave up his whole energies to the organization of the new armies. In a short time no less than 700,000 Frenchmen were in course of training in the south and west. Gambetta visited them, instructed them, inspected them, and reviewed them with unceasing energy. Hopes of the relief at Paris ran high. But a desperate set-

back befell them when the news of the surrender of Metz became known. This enabled the Germans to dispatch three more corps against Paris, and to spare the army of Prince Frederick Charles, consisting of four corps of trained and seasoned men, against the new French armies, as yet only at the beginning of their training. However, hopes ran high again when General d'Aurelle de Paladines advanced on Orléans early in November at the head of some 200,000 men. On the 10th, General von der Tann, in face of vastly superior forces, was forced to abandon Orléans. The French came up with him at Coulmiers, and gained a victory of considerable proportions—the first French victory of the war. Heavy German reinforcements arriving robbed the French of their triumph, and compelled them to act on the defensive. After communicating with General Trochu at Paris, on 27th November d'Aurelle attacked again at Beaune-la-Rolande, and was defeated. Unaware of this, Trochu successfully carried out his attacks on the German lines two days later—the time when d'Aurelle, if successful, would be near Paris; and the French, led by General Ducrot, gained the villages of Champigny, Brie, and Villiers, after a prolonged engagement lasting over three days. This success was, of course, in vain; and the relieving army having been defeated a second time at Artenay on 2nd December, Ducrot retreated to his original position on 5th December. After Artenay, d'Aurelle de Paladines was obliged to evacuate Orléans, and was relieved of his command, while his army was divided into two portions, commanded respectively by Generals Bourbaki and Chanzy. Bourbaki's army moved south-west towards Bourges and Nevers, headed off

by the army of Prince Frederick Charles. Shaking off his pursuers, he turned towards the east and made for Vesoul, with the object of overwhelming General Werder and raising the siege of Belfort. Failing to make any impression upon Werder, he found himself threatened in his turn by General Manteuffel. By this time the war was at an end ; but the armies around Belfort being exempted from the armistice, he, in the beginning of February 1871, crossed the Swiss frontier with his 80,000 ragged, unkempt, weary soldiers, and was disarmed. Overcome by the misery of his situation, Bourbaki attempted suicide.

The first half of the great French army of the Loire thus perished miserably. What happened to the other half under the command of General Chanzy ? After his separation from Bourbaki he had imposed upon him the duty of protecting Tours, the seat of the provincial government. In face of the grave danger from the Prussians, the rulers of France in the middle of December removed to Bordeaux. Chanzy, outnumbered heavily, thereupon withdrew towards the west. On 11th January the armies of Prince Frederick Charles, operating from Vendôme, and of the Duke of Mecklenburg from Nogent-le-Rotrou, inflicted a heavy defeat upon him in front of Le Mans. A large part of the French army was captured, and the remnant fled westward towards Brittany, abandoning Le Mans to the enemy. The last French army in the field, that acting in Normandy and Picardy under General Faidherbe, after a wandering career was brought to book by the German general, Goeben, on 19th January, and severely defeated at St. Quentin. Amiens, Dieppe, Rouen, Le Mans, were all in the hands of the enemy.

At the opening of the year 1871 the Parisians were feeling the pinch of hunger. Even the animals in the Jardin des Plantes were being killed and eaten. Disease was rife, and the mortality among the non-combatant population terribly high. All hope of relief, too, was gone. The great army of the Loire was separated into two halves, of which one was falling back towards Switzerland and the other towards Brittany. How different from the end of November, when 200,000 men were only two days' journey from the capital! It was obvious the end was at hand. Just when the horrors of disease and hunger had manifested themselves in their most aggravating form the Prussians began the bombardment. This new terror, though it did not cause much actual damage or loss of life, added to the near approach of actual starvation, determined the authorities on desperate measures. On 17th January Trochu directed a final sortie, and, when its failure became known, handed over his military functions to General Vinoy. Jules Favre, therefore, proceeded for a second time to seek an interview with the redoubtable Herr von Bismarck. To his application for a safe-conduct to Versailles the Prussian Minister returned a gruff refusal, and refused to recognize him as a Minister of France. Eventually the German authorities allowed him to pass their lines at the pont de Sèvres, and an armistice was concluded. The garrison of Paris, except 12,000 men and the National Guards, were to surrender as prisoners of war; the forts in the *enceinte* were to be surrendered and dismantled; a war levy of £8,000,000 was exacted from the city. In return for this the Germans consented to the provisioning

of the capital, and bound themselves to abstain from interference in the election of a National Assembly which should decide whether France would continue the struggle or conclude peace. A proposal that the Germans should enter Paris was rejected by Favre, and the Chancellor did not press it, having his own doubts as to the possible attitude of the inhabitants of the city.

Upon the reopening of Paris, Gambetta and his colleagues at Bordeaux showed a disposition to disregard the terms of this armistice, being in ignorance of the fate of Bourbaki's army. Further, Gambetta issued a proclamation forbidding the candidature of all ex-officials of the Empire in the forthcoming elections. Bismarck promptly telegraphed to him that this was a violation of the compact. Infuriated by this action, Gambetta promptly posted up the Chancellor's telegram in the streets, and called on the Reds to resist this new Prussian aggression. For a moment it looked as if there would be a conflict between the Bordeaux and Paris governments. But after the Austrian and Spanish ministers had reminded Gambetta that they were accredited to the Paris government and not to him, he avoided a contest and resigned (6th February). On their part, the Paris government promised free choice to the electors. The elections took place on Wednesday, the 8th.

XIX.

PARIS ABLAZE.

WITH this armistice, concluded on January 28, 1871, the war, as far as the Germans were concerned, was practically at an end. The National Assembly, charged with such difficult business, met at Bordeaux on 12th February. It was seen at once that a change had come over the country during the months immediately preceding the election. The voters, who would have returned a Republican majority in October, now fell back upon old and tried politicians, who would be able to bring a quiet mind and an experience of affairs to the solution of the problems of peace and the subsequent reconstitution of France. So that the majority of the new House were Monarchists, either Orleanists or Legitimists; next to them came the powerful Republican party; while the Imperialists, so lately in power, went practically unrepresented. In these circumstances, the Assembly refused to recognize the Republic, proclaimed a constitutional truce, and relegated to the future the choice of the ultimate form of government. Jules Grévy, a Republican and an opponent of the fiery Gambetta, was chosen president of the Assembly, while at the head of the executive power

Thiers was placed (February 16, 1871). Thiers was believed by the majority to lean towards Monarchism, though he immediately showed that he was determined for the present to take no part in intrigues for the subversion of the Republic, which, in fact, continued.

On 26th February Thiers and Favre signed the preliminaries of peace on the basis of the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the payment of a war indemnity of two hundred millions sterling. A desperate attempt was made by Thiers to save Metz to France, even though the fortifications should be razed to the ground ; but Bismarck proved obdurate. In regard to Belfort, he offered to give way if the French, on their part, would allow the Germans to march into Paris. To this Thiers, with a heavy heart, agreed. On 1st March the Assembly ratified these conditions ; and the next day, 2nd March, the Prussians marched down the Champs Elysées into the place de la Concorde, as their grandfathers had done in 1814 and 1815.

It will be remembered that the red flag Socialists had somewhat grudgingly given their support to the government of the 4th September. On 31st October they had attempted an insurrection, which failed. Again, on the eve of the capitulation, another outburst had been suppressed. Alarmed by a rumour that the Germans on their triumphal entry were about to seize the guns employed to defend Paris during the siege, the *rouges*, on 27th February, took possession of a number of cannon in the place Wagram, and carried them off to the heights of Montmartre, where they added others to them, and kept a sharp lookout. On 2nd March the German occupation of the place de

la Concorde passed off very quietly, a definite sphere having been allotted to them; the French troops keeping watch on the pont de la Concorde, the rue de Rivoli, the rue St. Honoré, and the quais. A noisy demonstration which was made at the foot of the July column was easily repressed. But if there was as yet no bloodshed, the working classes were seething with discontent. The stores of food from England and elsewhere, which afforded relief for the starving populace, were soon exhausted; rents were due, work was scarce, and the Assembly showed no disposition to meet legitimate grievances. When, on 10th March, the deputies decided to move the seat of government from Bordeaux to the palace at Versailles, and not to the capital, fresh fuel was added to the flames.

Upon his arrival in Paris, on 15th March, Thiers took in the situation at a glance. Confident in his own ability, and showing but little sympathy for the very real grievances of the proletariats of the capital, he determined on resolute action. On 18th March 20,000 soldiers, under the command of General Lecomte, were dispatched to take possession of the artillery ranged upon the great hill of Montmartre. When these arrived, they found that they had not sufficient transport facilities. A few cannon were lowered into the streets below; then a long delay ensued until fresh teams arrived. A rumour quickly gained currency, in the crowd of men and women who thronged the streets, that the removal of the guns was part of a reactionary conspiracy against the republic. To his horror, Lecomte saw his men calmly handing over their arms to the populace, and fraternizing with them. Almost immediately he was ar-

rested; and with him General Clément Thomas, who happened to be passing, and had stopped to watch this unwonted scene. The two were marched off and imprisoned in the rue des Rosaires, where before the end of the day they were brutally murdered. Thiers's action therefore had failed, and as the revolution, encouraged by this first success, spread, he and his colleagues decided to withdraw altogether from Paris. By the 19th all authority in Paris was at an end, and the National Guards, in alliance with the Socialist Republicans, proceeded to the realization of their cherished dream—the establishment of the Commune. A fresh government was formed at the Hôtel de Ville, the centre of all French revolutions; the Ministries were seized, and the various offices of State apportioned out.

An attempted mediation between the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Assembly was made by the mayors of the various *arrondissements* and the Republican deputies for Paris. But when the mayors appeared to plead at the bar of the House at Versailles, and loud cries of “Vive la République!” broke out amongst them, the Monarchical majority turned a deaf ear to their supplications. With difficulty the Assembly were induced to grant a fresh respite for debtors; to allow the National Guards to choose their own officers; and to permit the representatives of the Paris Commune to be elected by universal suffrage. When the Central Committee fixed 22nd March for the elections, the Assembly annulled their decision.

A party of the National Guards, over whom Admiral Saisset was appointed commander, with headquarters at the Grand Hotel, the Mairie of the

Premier Arrondissement, and the Bourse, remained faithful to the Versailles Government. On Friday, 22nd March, they organized a peaceful demonstration, intended to recall the citizens of Paris to their senses. An Englishman present on that occasion has left us this account: "At one o'clock the promised demonstration, consisting of 1,500 or 2,000 respectable-looking men, had assembled in front of the Grand Hotel. Here they were joined by Admiral Saisset and a small body of men, under whose guidance they were evidently prepared to act. After a short consultation they made a move towards the rue de la Paix, but soon found themselves face to face with the unscrupulous-looking ruffians who composed the line that was drawn across the top of the street. . . . The unarmed body—composed of citizens, a few soldiers and sailors, bankers, merchants, and workmen—moved steadily on, pressing before them the line of sentries, which was drawn across the top of the rue de la Paix, and shouting 'Vive la République! Vive la France! Vive l'Ordre! Vive l'Assemblée!' . . . When we reached the place Vendôme the struggle became so violent that we looked out for a friendly door. . . . At the same instant shots were fired, a man fell dead, others rolled over him, two or three corpses were stretched upon the road; the confusion became indescribable. The murderous work was continued as the unarmed citizens dashed at doors that refused to open, and fled wildly up the street. On the one side it was a *sauve qui peut*, on the other a deliberate massacre. . . . Streams of blood slowly coursed over the pavement." * Thus was enacted

* John Furley: *Experiences of a Neutral Volunteer*, Vol. II., pp. 44-47. Chapman and Hall. 1872.

the massacre of the place Vendôme. Evidently such men would listen to no reason; and in the Assembly Thiers announced that, in face of such proceedings, he had taken it upon himself to remove the loyal troops beyond the Seine.

On 29th March the Commune met. They got to work without delay. Conscription was abolished; the National Guard was constituted the only military force; and every able-bodied man was ordered to be enrolled. Rents in arrear were remitted. The sale of unredeemed pledges in the *mont-de-piété* was forbidden. The powers of government were confided to an executive commission, consisting of Bergeret, Eudes, Duval, Lefrançais, Félix Pyat, Tridon, and Vaillant. These were assisted by nine other commissions—of finance, war, justice, public safety, subsistence, labour, foreign affairs, public works, and education.

Prompted by Thiers, the Versailles Government determined to undertake a regular siege of Paris. Bismarck grimly looked on without surprise at the Parisians "stewing in their own juice." Appealed to for help, he declined to use the German forces for the subjugation of the capital, but agreed to release the Army of Metz for the purpose.

Meanwhile the Jacobin spirit rose higher and higher. Embittered by the sufferings in the siege, mortified by the capitulation, indignant at the German entry, the Commune were determined to assure the permanence of the Republic in Paris at all costs. Suspicion of the monarchical majority at Versailles intensified their determination. The inevitable collision was not long delayed. On 2nd April the Government forces, or *Versaillais*, opened fire. Instantly

the executive commission issued an inflammatory address to the National Guard. "The Royalist conspirators," they indignantly exclaimed, "have *attacked*. In spite of the moderation of our attitude, they have *attacked*. No longer able to count on the French army, they have *attacked* with pontifical zouaves and imperial police." Not content with this gross misrepresentation, the Commune revenged itself by sequestering the property of Thiers, Favre, Picard, Dufaure, Simon, and Pothuau. This done, they declared the separation of Church and State, and seized all ecclesiastical property.

Next day the Commune took the offensive. Two forces—one from Issy, the other from Neuilly—were directed to capture Meudon and Mont Valérien; then, uniting at Ville d'Avray, to march on Versailles. The attack on Mont Valérien (which had been handed back by the Prussians to the Versaillais) was made in two columns, approaching by Nanterre and Puteaux. It was a failure, and the National Guards were forced to retreat to the fortifications. Meanwhile the other force, under Flourens, occupied Clamart and Bas-Meudon; but, finally essaying to storm the heights of Meudon, they were repulsed and Flourens was killed. At nightfall both sides occupied their original positions.

The Commune now took measures to strengthen their military position. Cluseret was appointed Minister of War, and all able-bodied men incorporated into *bataillons de guerre*. Alleging that the Versaillais shot all prisoners, on 5th April it was decreed that a number of prominent citizens should be arrested and held as hostages. The next day

the Archbishop of Paris and the curé of the Madeleine were cast into the Mazas prison. On 7th April Marshal MacMahon, who had now assumed command of the Government forces, attacked the *Fédérés* at Neuilly, and drove them inside the fortifications. This put an end to all field operations, and henceforth Paris could only be reduced by hunger or bombardment. As yet MacMahon did not feel himself strong enough to risk the final assault.

Early in May the Fort d'Issy fell. It was by this time perfectly evident that Paris could not hold out. The city was in a terrible condition. Cluseret was arrested and tried by the Commune on a variety of charges of disloyalty. Practically all the newspapers were suppressed. The finances were in the utmost confusion. Drunkenness and immorality were so common in the streets that the "authorities" were compelled to intervene. A spirit of despairing vindictiveness took possession of the Commune. They ordered the *Chapelle Expiatoire* to be destroyed as being "a permanent insult to the First Revolution;" the Vendôme column to come down, as a tribute to militarism and despotism. When, in the second week, it became clear the Versaillais were about to attack in earnest, Thiers's house in the place St. Georges was burnt to the ground. Finally, at a secret meeting on 20th May, the "Committee of Public Safety" gave orders for the destruction of the Louvre, the Tuileries, and all the great public buildings. Rather than surrender Paris to their enemies, they burnt it down. What can exceed the terseness of such a note as this :—

“ Cabinet du Ministre de la Guerre.

“ Au Citoyen Lucas.

“ Faites de suite flamber Finances et venez nous retrouver.

“ TH. FERRÉ.

“ 4 Prairial, 79.”

On Sunday, 21st May, the troops near the inner fortifications at the porte de St. Cloud noticed a man, who proved to be M. Ducatel, violently waving a handkerchief. Captain Garnier went to meet him, and learned that, owing to the damage inflicted by the Versaillais artillery, the *Fédérés* had abandoned the whole of that quarter of the town. Thereupon, at the head of a few companies, Garnier entered the city, reconstructing the broken draw-bridge, and setting up the tricolour on Bastion 62. Soon after, General Verge came to his support at the head of the 3rd Reserve Division. The same thing happened at the portes d'Auteuil, de Passy, and de Versailles a little later in the day. By evening all the space between the Ceinture Railway and the western fortifications was in the hands of the Versaillais. This was 21st May. The week that followed was the most terrible the human imagination can picture. Step by step the besiegers advanced against the infuriated troops of the Commune, their own fellow-countrymen. The *Fédérés* were steadily driven back from barricade after barricade, until, on Sunday, 28th May, the whole city was in the possession of the Government. MacMahon then issued a final proclamation to the people :—

“ Inhabitants of Paris.

“ The army of France has come to save you. Paris is delivered. At four o'clock our soldiers took possession of the last position occupied by the insurgents.

“ To-day the struggle is terminated. Order is renewed ; industry and security are about to be re-established.

“ The Marshal of France commanding-in-chief,
“ DE MACMAHON, Duc de Magenta.

“ HEADQUARTERS, 28th May 1871.”

But at what an awful cost ! The city was practically in ruins. Whole streets had been burnt down. The rue Royale, where one of the most desperate encounters took place, was first fired, and then the flames were fed with petroleum. There a number of women in a lying-in hospital were helplessly burnt to death. The Vendôme column was sawed through at the base, and, after many unsuccessful efforts, at last crashed to the ground, scattered into a thousand fragments. Let us see what happened in other parts of the capital.

The Hôtel de Ville.—“ This gorgeous civic palace, whose history dates back to the twelfth century, was as complete a ruin as centuries of neglect could have made it. The external walls had been dragged inwards by falling floors, and the lofty Mansard roofs which crowned the *façade* had totally disappeared ; the richly-sculptured *façade* was blackened by the flames, which, fed by petroleum, had literally eaten into the stone.”

Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin.—“ Nothing remained . . . but three walls and a heap of rubbish.”

The Palais de la Légion d'Honneur.—"I came to the blackened skeleton of the Palace of the Legion of Honour . . . close to this grand pile of buildings the Palais du Quai d'Orsay . . . and the Cour des Comptes had been gutted by the flames, and nothing was standing but the walls."

The Palais de Justice.—" . . . formed a large group of blackened and broken masonry."

Baedeker's *Paris* for 1872 gives a concise list of the principal places destroyed in 1871 :—

"*Public Buildings and Monuments.*—The following have been either totally destroyed or seriously injured. On the north bank of the Seine: Vendôme Column, Ministère des Finances, Tuileries, Bibliothèque du Louvre, Palais Royal, Théâtre Lyrique, Hôtel de Ville, Arsenal, Grenier d'Abondance, Colonne de Juillet, Caserne du Prince Eugène, Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin, docks de la Villette. On the Cité island: Palais de Justice, Préfecture. On the south bank of the Seine: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Palais de la Légion d'Honneur, Conseil d'État and Cour des Comptes, Caserne Bonaparte, École des Mines, Gobelins.

"*Streets, Squares, Railway Stations.*—On the north bank: stations of Auteuil, Passy, and the porte Maillot, avenue de la Grande Armée, place de la Concorde, rue Royale, rue St. Honoré, rue de Rivoli, place de la Bastille, station de Lyon, station de Vincennes, rue de la Roquette, boulevard du Prince Eugène, Château d'Eau, boulevard St. Martin. On the south bank: rue du Bac, rue de Lille, rue Vavin."

Practically the whole of the damage in the list just given was the deliberate, intentional work of the Commune. A small proportion was due to the fight-

ing with the Versaillais, a very little to the Germans. Mr. Furley gives an impressive description of Paris ablaze: "At nine o'clock I started to return. The atmosphere was heavy and oppressive; thick clouds of smoke swept over the city; a lurid glare illuminated the sky, and sparks of the ashes of burnt paper floated about over everything, covering the roads with black flakes; at the corners of the streets dust and torn paper—remnants of proclamations and counter-proclamations—rose in spiral columns upon the wind. In the rue Lafayette I only saw one person, and he rushed past me as if an army of fiends were following him. Occasionally a large shot tore away a balcony or a tree, and bullets whistled down." *

But if the incendiarism of the Communists brought eternal shame upon them, what words can be found to express the callous and brutal disregard they showed for human life? They burnt the wretched women in the rue Royale. They burnt six hundred of their own number in the destruction of the Hôtel de Ville. Far worse than all this, when the end was in sight, they murdered in cold blood the hostages contained in the Mazas prison. An unsuccessful attempt, indeed, had been made to exchange Blanqui (who had been taken prisoner by the Versaillais) for Archbishop Darboy, but in vain. The Government refused to treat with the rebels; rebels they were, and as rebels they should be treated. Archbishop Darboy, therefore, perished in this revolution as his predecessor, an olive branch in his hand, had perished on the barricades in 1848. The digni-

* John Furley; *Experiences of a Neutral Volunteer*, Vol. II., pp. 257, 258,

taries of the Church were singled out with especial hatred by the disillusioned Communists. Along with the archbishop perished also, in one place or another—whether in the Mazas, or La Roquette, or Père Lachaise itself—the Grand Vicaire of Paris (Monsieur Surat), the curés of the Madeleine and Notre Dame de Lorette, several Jesuits, Dominicans, and others. To them were joined in death some sixty eminent citizens, such as M. Jecker the banker, and the president of the Cour de Cassation, M. Bonjean.

Thus came to an end the wild dream of the Commune. All this fearful bloodshed arose from the initial blunder of Jules Favre in over-persuading Bismarck to allow the National Guards to retain their arms at the capitulation “that they might keep order in the capital.” He afterwards bitterly repented. “J’en demande pardon à Dieu et aux hommes.” The Versaillais, officered by aristocrats, and hating the Commune, fought their way into the capital in no mood for mercy. And it is doubtful whether they were in a position to exercise mercy or discrimination, in face of the actual situation. No surrenders were permitted. Every armed man taken prisoner was instantly shot. In that one week no less than 17,000 revolutionaries expiated their crimes in death, while double their numbers were arrested and brought to trial. These arrests proceeded for years after the failure of the Commune. Some of the leaders perished by the sword. Delescluze voluntarily sacrificed his life on a barricade. Flourens was captured and shot in April. The same fate befell Durant and Rigault in the final attack. Félix Pyat, a sycophant, made good his escape, branded as a traitor by his colleagues; Valles, Miot, and Cluseret,

lately Minister of War, followed his example; while the Citizen Babick, member of the *comité central*, a month or two afterwards astonished the inhabitants of a small Swiss town by riding through the streets on a donkey painted red, modestly proclaiming himself the Antichrist.

XX.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

NEGOTIATIONS for a definitive treaty of peace having failed at Brussels, the outlook during the concluding scenes of the Commune seemed as black abroad as at home. But as a last resource the plenipotentiaries renewed their labours at Frankfort on 4th May, and on 18th May reached final agreement. By the Treaty of Frankfort, France surrendered all Alsace except Belfort, one-fifth of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville, and consented to retain a German army of occupation in the departments until the successive instalments of the indemnity of two hundred million pounds sterling were paid off. The first portion of this debt was discharged in September 1871, and the French breathed freely after the Germans had evacuated the forts of Paris and settled themselves down in the eastern provinces.

In the realm of politics desperate uncertainty prevailed. On 1st March the deputies had, indeed, cast off Napoleon III., declared the Empire at an end and the Emperor personally responsible for the disasters of the war. It was easy enough to overturn the old *régime*; far harder was it to construct a new constitution. The only thing certain about the attitude of

the Assembly was that an overwhelming number of the deputies desired a restoration of some kind of monarchy. Here agreement ceased. For the moment the avalanche of Sedan had blotted out the Imperialists, but between the two main sections of the Right was a deep gulf. Some favoured the comte de Chambord, that grandson of Charles X. who had stood on the steps of the throne in the revolution of 1830. De Chambord, now fifty years of age, had lived in exile for forty years, was by nature a recluse, cared not a great deal for the throne, and was entirely devoted to the *ancien régime*. In July 1871 he visited Paris, and took stock of the situation. He soon made it clear that he would never accept the crown except upon the acknowledgment of his hereditary claims and his divine right. He would serve under the banner of his forebears—the white flag—or would not serve at all. “I received it,” he wrote at this time, “as a sacred deposit from the old king, my grandfather, who died in exile. It has always been inseparably associated in my mind with the remembrance of my distant country. It has waved over my cradle; it will overshadow my grave. In the glorious folds of this stainless flag I will bring you order and freedom. Frenchmen! Henry V. cannot forsake the white flag of Henry IV.” These sentiments compromised his chances. At the same time the sons of Louis-Philippe arrived on the scene—de Nemours, d’Aumale, de Joinville—together with his grandson and heir, the comte de Paris, who also had once been within an ace of the crown (1848). The rest of the Monarchist deputies pinned their faith to them. But these differences between the Legitimist and Orleanist parties resulted in a con-

stitutional deadlock. Until one of these princes would surrender his claims, or all Monarchists unite in support of one candidate, no progress could be made. Refusing to recognize the *de facto* republic, and using the term "*la France*" in place of "*la République*," things jogged on until the end of August, when the Assembly, without prejudice, accorded M. Thiers the title of President of the Republic.

Nothing could exceed the misery of France in the latter half of 1871. Devastated by war, torn by internal dissensions, haunted by uncertainty, fallen from the first place in Europe into a condition of utter helplessness, few dared contemplate the future. Paris lay in ruins, and day after day proceeded the trials of the misguided fanatics of the Commune. And all the while Orleanists in the Assembly at Versailles quarrelled with Legitimists and Imperialists, and Republicans with Republicans; and Thiers, under perpetual threats of resignation, quarrelled with all parties. Yet Thiers was the only man who could hold the Assembly together, maintain public confidence in the administration, and restore new life to exhausted France.

The year 1872 opened in profound gloom. In the Chamber M. Jean Brunet, on 11th January, voiced the universal pessimism. "God," he declared, "has inflicted terrible chastisements upon France for having suffered herself to be corrupted by impious men, rhetoricians, and ruffians. Let us erect a temple in the place du roi de Rome with this superscription: 'God protects France. Christ is the conqueror, reigns and commands.'" Eight days later, irritated by opposition to the new protectionist measures, Thiers resigned, only to be coaxed back into office. In this

crisis the Orleanist princes appeared in the Chamber to witness his downfall, but were disappointed. On his part, the comte de Chambord seized the opportunity for a fresh definition of his position. He would never abdicate his claims; he would never give up the white flag; he would never be the legitimate "king of the revolution." All these circumstances—the misery of the people, the wrangles in the Chamber, the perpetual uncertainty—turned the people's thoughts into another channel: the restoration of the Empire. "Many people," Lord Lyons reported to Lord Granville, "expect to hear any morning of a *coup* by which Thiers and the Assembly will be deposed, and an *appel au peuple* made to end in a restoration of the Empire." Thiers and the duc de Broglie, then ambassador in London, showed great sensitiveness on this point. The President protested to Lord Lyons early in February against an alleged review of English troops by the Emperor Napoleon; and at the end of the month de Broglie complained to Lord Granville of the reception of the Emperor and Empress at Buckingham Palace on the occasion of the thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales. Further, early in the same month, the tiny band of Imperialists was strengthened by the return of M. Rouher, the ex "vice-emperor," as deputy for Corsica. Trembling before the spectre of Napoleonism, the frightened Assembly took measures forthwith to provide machinery for the election of a fresh Chamber should the Versailles parliament be forcibly dispersed.

On 15th March the French Government officially denounced the Cobdenite Treaty of 1860, and on 5th November replaced it by a protective treaty. Internal difficulties compelled the Assembly to take cognizance

of them, and measures were adopted for the reconstruction of the great public buildings burned under the Commune; for the relief of those whose property had suffered in the war; and, later on, for the assistance of those who declined to adopt German nationality in Alsace-Lorraine. But the most necessary work was the reform of the army. In April Thiers introduced a bill; in June, under a fresh threat of resignation, he caused it to be enacted that in general every Frenchman must serve five years with the colours and fifteen in the reserve. These proceedings were by no means congenial to the Chancellor across the Rhine, and renewed thunders were heard in that quarter; these became especially loud when Bismarck began to suspect advances made towards Russia by the French ambassador at St. Petersburg.

A severe blow fell upon the Orleanists when, on 24th July, the duc de Guise, the duc d'Aumale's only surviving son, died. D'Aumale was far and away the most popular member of his family, and had been spoken of as Thiers's successor; but from this moment he gradually withdrew himself from active participation in politics. And so the year wore on. The trials of political offenders continued. Bazaine surrendered himself to a court martial for his conduct at Metz. Angry discussions occurred in the Chamber over the responsibility for the late disasters in the field, and the war contracts of the Empire. In October Thiers, on his own authority, expelled Prince Napoleon, and raised no small stir. Petitions now began to flow in from the provincial municipal councils, designed to encourage Thiers in his republicanism, and to bring about a speedy restoration of a republican constitu-

tion. This aroused the resentment of the Right, and culminated in a resolution declaring the petitions to be illegal. On 28th November Thiers proposed and carried the appointment of a Committee of Thirty to prepare a bill for defining the functions of public bodies and securing ministerial authority. He made it clear that he intended to take no immediate steps for a restoration of the monarchy. "We have," he said, "a republic; let us render it conservative, that being the only possible form of government. Shall I, an old man, close to the eternal truths, force my country into a new road? No, I cannot."

A very important event occurred in the beginning of 1873. On 9th January the Emperor Napoleon died, after an operation, at Chislehurst, where, during his residence in England, he had become a popular figure. His marvellous career—more adventurous than the life of any hero of fiction—his meteoric rise to power, his glittering prosperity, his sudden collapse, his overwhelming misfortunes, and his kindly manners endeared him to the hearts of the English people, for, with all his faults, Napoleon III. was always a gentleman. In France latterly, too, his star had been in ascent again. Gradually, through the prevailing uncertainty and distrust, it had become clear that, whatever might be the majority in the Assembly, the real issue lay between a surrender to the Reds or a return to the Empire. In 1872 Rouher and his agents had held high hopes of reintroducing Napoleon III. into France; now all these hopes were dashed to the ground by his unexpected death. The Emperor's weak health had long been a cause of anxiety, and there is room for suspicion that he ultimately submitted to the operation, so long delayed, with a view to being ready for

the discharge of new duties that might be imposed upon him. Until the young Prince Imperial, then in his seventeenth year, came of age, the prospects of the Bonapartists were clouded over. In France the news of the ex-emperor's death made little impression upon the official classes, save among his political supporters. In its next issue the *Journal Officiel* passed it by in disdainful silence; but the following day, after protests had been made, the journal in its non-official columns curtly announced: "Napoleon III. died yesterday, 9th January, at Chislehurst." It was reserved for Italy, "free from the Alps to the Adriatic," to play the part of chief mourner over him the movement of whose little finger had so few years before made all Europe tremble.

Bonapartism ceased to menace the Assembly, and the hopes of the Orleanists rose in proportion. Unsuccessful attempts were made to reconcile the differences between the comte de Chambord and the comte de Paris. But if the Monarchists could not unite amongst themselves, they agreed, at any rate, in their suspicion and hatred of Thiers. Under the inspiration of the duc de Broglie, who had retired from the French Embassy in London and assumed command of the Right, they laid plans for the overthrow of the President. The spring session of Parliament laboured at the temporary constitutional scheme presented by the Committee of Thirty. Thiers achieved his final success from the tribune when he declared himself loyal to the truce of Bordeaux, that the Republic was only a provisional compromise, and appealed for the prolongation of the *status quo*. The preamble to the committee's report, declaring that the Assembly possessed constituent power, was carried; the veto

offered to the President was modified so as to prevent him exercising it over constitutional projects. So, step by step, the deputies examined, criticised, and voted. Then for a moment attention was diverted when, on 17th March, M. de Rémusat announced that a Franco-German treaty had been concluded, under the terms of which France, on paying the last instalment of the indemnity, would be freed from the army of occupation on 5th September. This result achieved, it was recognized that the first part of the Assembly's work—the liberation of French soil—was accomplished. As to the second, the establishment of a regular constitution, there were many advocates for an immediate dissolution. Distracted by their own divisions, and jealous of Thiers's success, the majority on the Right determined on more resolute action. On 31st March they accused M. Grévy, the president of the Assembly and a partisan of Thiers, of a want of impartiality in the chair, and drove him into resignation. Before separating for the Easter vacation they elected in his place M. Buffet, a minister under the Empire, in the teeth of M. Thiers's opposition. But they aimed at higher game. Immediately after the recess a vote of censure on the Ministry was proposed, and was carried by 360 votes to 344. The President understood what this meant, and promptly resigned (May 23, 1873).

Thiers holds a singular place in French history. From 1830 to 1870 he was engaged in every revolution. In 1830 he was a partisan of Louis-Philippe; in 1848 he gave but a feeble aid to that monarch in his hour of extremity, and promptly supported the candidature of Louis-Napoleon for the presidency. Imprisoned at the *coup d'état*, he refused to move a

finger on behalf of the tottering Empire after Sedan. He seemed to possess an instinct of the future course of events, yet he was a poor servant. By his writings he led Louis-Philippe into that posthumous worship of Napoleon which attracted attention to the exploit at Boulogne; while as Minister for Foreign Affairs his pugnacious attitude over Mehemet Ali all but involved France in war with England and broke up the *entente cordiale*—the very foundation of the throne of July. Next he supported Louis-Napoleon; then went into opposition, and by his inflammatory speeches in the Corps Législatif after his return to parliamentary life in 1863, did more than any one else to stir up popular resentment against the growing power of Germany. The Empire gone, the National Assembly, conscious of his vast experience and of his undoubted patriotism, coupled with his aloofness from all parties, unanimously put him in charge of the executive power. His great works were the reconstruction of the army and the payment of the war indemnity, for which he gained the appellation of *Libérateur du territoire*. A loquacious talker, yet no orator, he suffered from an overweening self-confidence. This supreme confidence in himself, and his love of his own way, were great assets in the confusion of 1871; but were little use in the subsequent debates of the Assembly, which gradually drew away from him, and ended by refusing to allow him to speak in the Chamber without special permission.

Thiers having fallen, that very night the Assembly elected Marshal MacMahon in his place. Contrary to the expectations of most men, and not least of Thiers himself, the change was effected without a shadow of popular disturbance. The new President was a

Legitimist, who had been willing to serve France under the Empire. A brave soldier, with a military record to be proud of, he was honest and straightforward, but little versed in politics. But while his election passed unchallenged in his own country, it was not so across the Rhine. Bismarck displayed considerable irritation at the supreme power being confided to a marshal of France. As recently as 14th March Lord Odo Russell had, in a letter from the Berlin Embassy to Lord Lyons, laid bare his policy with singular accuracy and acuteness. "The two great objects of Bismarck's policy," he wrote, "are (1) the supremacy of Germany in Europe, and of the German race in the world; (2) the neutralization of the influence and power of the Latin race in France and elsewhere. The Germans, as you know, look upon the war of revenge as unavoidable, and are making immense preparations for it. Germany is in reality a great camp ready to break up for any war at a week's notice, with a million of men." Determined to exterminate France before she could recover her strength, Bismarck watched cat-like for any opportunity of striking down his helpless victim. France lay at his feet, like a man knocked down in the ring, and over her stood the Iron Chancellor, the gloves still on, waiting to give the *coup de grâce* the instant his victim betrayed signs of returning animation.

A nominee of the Right, MacMahon naturally put de Broglie, the author of Thiers's discomfiture, at the head of his first Cabinet. MacMahon was elected as a stop-gap who would uphold the conservative republic until such time as the Monarchists could heal their divisions and present a king to France. A fresh attempt at fusion was made in August, when the comte

de Paris visited de Chambord at Frohsdorf, but failed to reach a settlement. Early in October M. Chesnelong undertook a further mission, and came back believing he had reconciled the House of Orleans to the House of Bourbon, and Henry V. to the tricolour. Preparations were instantly undertaken by the Monarchist deputies in anticipation of the King's arrival, and votes were eagerly canvassed for the decisive struggle in the Chamber. At the last moment all these hopes were dashed to the ground. In one of his inconvenient open letters the comte again nailed the white flag to the mast, and expressed his absolute determination to sail under that banner to the end. What, he asked, would his glorious ancestor, Henry IV., think of his abandonment of the flag of Ivry and Arques?

It being impossible to delay any longer, and since the comte de Chambord had extinguished the last hopes of an immediate restoration, the deputies were now compelled to invent some scheme to carry on the government. After a long discussion in the Chambers, MacMahon's tenure of office was fixed at seven years (November 19, 1873). At this very time Henry V. made his one and only attempt to mount the throne. Having conceived the idea of making MacMahon an accomplice in a *coup d'état*, he made his way in disguise to Versailles, and apprised the Marshal of his presence. The Marshal declined to see him, and sent him word that though he "would be happy to give his life for the prince, he could never sacrifice his honour" (27th November). A fortnight later another event of a very different character took place. Marshal Bazaine was condemned to death by a Versailles court martial for his sur-

render at Metz ; the penalty was afterwards changed to twenty-one years' detention in a fortress.

“The fall of France,” wrote Lord Lyons on January 17, 1874, “has never, I think, been brought so forcibly home to me as when I listened yesterday to the humble deprecation which Decazes was obliged to make with regard to Bismarck's threats in the same room in which I had so often heard the high language with which the Imperial Minister used to speak of the affairs of Europe.” This new shaking of the Chancellor's fist was occasioned by the anti-German language employed by the French bishops in their pastorals. Conscious that a fresh war against Germany was physically impossible in the then state of the army and the nation, Decazes, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, did every mortal thing he could to appease Bismarck's wrath ; and the Minister of the Interior compliantly suppressed the *Univers*, and issued a circular calling on the bishops to moderate their language, and confine their utterances to their own sphere. That month, so the Russian Ambassador told Decazes, the German Government actually gave orders to their troops to occupy Nancy, and these orders were only countermanded by the intervention of the Czar. At any rate, the Czar told General Leflô * at this time that there would not be war.

Meanwhile things were going from bad to worse in the Assembly. All through the spring of 1874 the de Broglie Cabinet only existed on sufferance, and the deputies spent their time in the discussion of further constitutional schemes. Steadily the elections flowed in the direction of the Republic, and the majority on the Right ebbed away. Taking advantage

* French Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

of the monarchical majority while it still remained, the Government succeeded in January in passing an Act enabling them to appoint the mayors in the communes. Once they got this, they set to work to establish nominees of their own: Legitimists, Orleanists, and not a few of the ex-Imperial functionaries (February 1874). On 1st March M. Ledru-Rollin, that arch-champion of the Republic, was returned to the Chamber, and the situation became more harassing for the Government. At last, on 16th May, de Broglie having become a convert to the plan for setting up a Second Chamber, a combination of the Legitimists and the Left overthrew his Cabinet, and he resigned. Marshal MacMahon called in General de Cissey, one of his friends and supporters, and put him at the head of affairs; but the real power of the new Cabinet lay in the hands of the duc Decazes. Eight days later the baron de Bourgoing, once an equerry to the Emperor Napoleon, was elected for the Nièvre, having a clear majority over the Republican and Legitimist candidates. Fear of the Bonapartists was increased when, on 9th June, M. Girard produced a paper in Parliament, alleged to have been discovered in a railway carriage, which bore testimony to a strong Imperialist propaganda among the municipal and local functionaries. These incidents were felt to be of greater danger, since the Prince Imperial had lately come of age and assumed political importance. On 15th June M. Casimir-Périer, the son of Louis-Philippe's minister, declared in the Chamber his adherence to the Republic, and called for its establishment under a president and two chambers. M. Laboulaye supported his motion. "The events of the last few days," he declared, "must have enlightened you: we

must constitute a government. Last year four alternatives were present. Now we can only do one of three things—either maintain provisional conditions, accept the Empire, or constitute the Republic. You have had the Republic, practically, for three years. What do you risk in adopting it ?” *

Urgency was voted by 345 votes to 341, so that for the first time the Assembly actually inclined towards the Republic. Immediately the duc de la Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia made an attempt to save the throne. He moved a resolution : “ The government of France is a monarchy. The throne belongs to the head of the House of France.” His motion was set on one side. Next day M. Wallon, a learned professor from the north-east, introduced the first of his constitutional projects. What Sieyès was to the Constituent Assembly of the Revolution, Wallon was to the National Assembly of 1871-76. This bill, formally establishing a republic on the lines of Casimir-Périer’s motion, but with all the details set out, was instantly referred to the Committee of Thirty for consideration.

At this stage the comte de Chambord again entered into the arena. His letter, published on 2nd July, adopted a far more conciliatory tone. “ Frenchmen !” he wrote, “ France needs a king. My birth has made me your king. A Christian and French monarchy is, in its very essence, a tempered monarchy. This tempered monarchy involves the existence of two Houses, one of which is appointed by the sovereign, and the other by the nation, according to the mode of suffrage demanded by the law. Where does this leave any room for arbitrary rule ?” These

* G. Hanotaux : *Contemporary France* (E. T.), Vol. III., p. 25.

were fine words indeed, but their effect was absolutely nullified by the comte's concluding sentence: "I reject the formula imported from foreign parts, and repudiated by all our national traditions, of a king who reigns but does not govern." When M. Lucien Brun read this manifesto from the tribune on 8th July he sounded the death-knell of the Legitimists, and could only muster 79 votes for Henry V., 372 voting against. Defeated themselves, the Legitimists again combined with the Left, and overthrew the de Cissey Cabinet. But the Marshal was equal to the occasion. He declined to receive his Ministers' resignations, and sent down de Cissey on the 9th to remind the deputies of their duty. "No more imperious duty lies before the Assembly than that which consists in securing for their country, by regular institutions, calm, security, and pacification. I am asking my Ministers to acquaint without delay the committee on constitutional laws with the points which I consider essential."

The committee reported adversely on the Casimir-Périer and Wallon motions, and proposed instead a scheme for organizing and regularizing the Septennate. But the fire once kindled, the House decided to debate the Périer and Wallon motions forthwith. Under an attack of overwhelming force by de Broglie, the Casimir-Périer resolution was rejected on 29th July. "That was a great feat," observed the orator as he descended from the tribune. "I could not do it again." A like fate befell Wallon's scheme, and when the parliamentary session closed on 5th August the prospect looked as uncertain as ever.

It was not until January 5, 1875, that the Assembly returned to the elaboration of a constitution.

During the interval MacMahon had consulted with the committee, and they had decided to offer the House the only compromise that seemed to offer the least chance of success—namely, the consolidation of the Septennate. Two bills were presented for this purpose—the Senate Bill and a Bill for the “Organization of the Public Powers.” The committee, armed with the support of the Marshal and the Cabinet, demanded that the discussion on the Senate Bill should have the priority, and this with the object of tightening the grip of the Septennate. But the House, determined to debate the constitutional question as a whole first, refused this permission, and the Government again resigned. After two or three attempts at a new administration, the President retained the de Cissey Cabinet in office. No sooner was this difficulty surmounted than the victory of M. Cazeneau in the Hautes-Pyrénées once more raised the Bonapartist spectre. More than ever now it was desirable to formulate a definite constitution.

Finally, on 21st January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., M. de Ventavon opened the debate on the Public Powers Bill, which ever after has gone by his name. “It is not a constitution which I have the honour to submit to you,” he modestly explained. “It is merely the organization of temporary powers, the powers of a man.” Nevertheless the Bill was cleverly framed, so as to retain for the Marshal-President those prerogatives which belong to a constitutional sovereign. The House agreed to the first reading, and on 25th January accorded the same privilege to the Senate Bill. It was on 28th January that M. de Ventavon moved

the second reading of the Public Powers Bill. Clause I., section 1, ran as follows:—

“The legislative power shall be exercised by two assemblies—the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.”

At the instigation of M. Thiers, who had thrown in his lot with the Republicans, M. Laboulaye immediately moved an amendment:—

“The Government of the Republic consists of two Chambers and a President.”

Issue was immediately joined. The motion merely consolidated the Septennate; it avoided the use of the word “republic,” and prolonged the provisional *régime*. The amendment swept away all tergiversation and hesitation, ended all uncertainty, and proclaimed the Republic in terms unmistakably clear and unequivocal. Laboulaye supported his proposal at the tribune with a speech at once of great power and of great restraint. He dwelt upon the failure to obtain a king; upon the conservative nature of the Republic under Thiers and MacMahon, urging this latter as a proof that the Republic would be neither Jacobin nor hostile to religion. His concluding appeal, detailing the dangers at home and abroad, was magnificent. “The peril outside,” exclaimed the speaker, “is imminent: we may be on the eve of a new war. Our disorder, our helplessness are being watched. At home the peril is no less great. With the Republic you can make a government; if you reject it, you will have no government at all. . . . Do not leave us to the unknown, and, to put it all in one word, have pity—pity on your unhappy country!”* But all in vain. Although the Republicans brought every man to the ballot—invalids, proxies, dissidents—the

* Hanotaux: Vol. III., pp. 145–46.

Laboulaye amendment was defeated by 359 votes to 336. Resisting to the very last, the Right refused to pronounce the hated shibboleth of "the Republic." Section by section the whole of Clause I. was carried in its original form.

On the 29th M. Wallon, conciliatory and restrained, proposed an addendum to the clause :—

"The President of the Republic shall be elected by a majority of votes by a meeting of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, united in one National Assembly. He shall be appointed for seven years, and be capable of re-election."

Upon the proposition of M. de Ventavon this resolution was referred to the Committee of Thirty. Here was a new way out of the *impasse*. No mention was made of the Republic; no attempt was made to fasten the Republic upon France as a perpetual and unalterable institution too sacred to be changed. Simply the temporary republic was, by provision for a successor to MacMahon, granted a further lease of life after the expiry of the Septennate, until such time as the two Chambers should be able to agree upon a final constitution, monarchical or otherwise.

Stirred to their very depths by the menace of Bonapartism, the Assembly even now hesitated to abandon their favourite policy of procrastination. A few waverers went over from the Right centre to the Left centre, but the majority stood firm. Yet the issue was clear, abundantly clear. The Assembly must either vote a constitution or surrender to Napoleon IV. Late in the afternoon of 30th January M. Wallon's motion, slightly changed so that the election should be determined by an absolute majority of the united Chambers, was put to the vote. All parties

betrayed a nervous anxiety. Members waited in breathless silence. Amid intense excitement M. Buffet, about a quarter to six, announced that as the numbers seemed about equal a recount would be necessary. General de Chabron, who had hitherto held back, offered his vote. Despite protests from the Right, the President allowed it to be placed in the box. That vote won France the Republic. At 6.45 p.m. M. Buffet announced that the Wallon amendment was carried by 353 votes to 352. The Republic, therefore, was established by one vote.

True, the contest was not yet over ; the third reading remained to be taken. But after the supreme struggle of this day a rapid change in opinion took place. All were weary of the contest. Accepting the period of grace offered, the Orleanists, in face of the Bonaparte peril, rallied to this provisional republic. The prince de Joinville, the duc Pasquier, the duc Decazes, and the duc de Broglie himself, all lent support to the later clauses of the bill after its focus had been changed from the Septennate to the Republic. They could do this the more confidently, because Clause VI. expressly provided power for the Chambers to revise the constitution.

Following on this, the Senate Bill, after almost foundering on the rocks, was passed on 24th February. Next day the Public Powers Bill was accorded a third reading ; and these two parliamentary projects being welded together were, on the suggestion of the indefatigable M. Wallon, forthwith promulgated simultaneously as one constitutional whole.

With the passing of the Public Powers Bill and the Senate Bill the work of the National Assembly was finally complete. France possessed a constitu-

tion, though no man could tell whether the new constitution would have any chance of success. At the head of the executive came the President of the Republic. In the government of the country he was assisted by the Chamber of Deputies and a newly-constituted Senate. The deputies were elected for four years by universal suffrage; while 225 of the senators were chosen indirectly by means of electoral colleges, and the remaining seventy-five owed their seats to the nomination of the Assembly. In the Senate the elected members held office for nine years, the nominated members for life.

By a strange coincidence the discussion of the Ventavon Bill opened on the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI., and the critical stage of the debate was passed on the anniversary of the death of Charles I. Despite this ill omen, the constitution of 1875, temporary in character and an acknowledged compromise, has lasted more than twice as long as any constitution in France in the nineteenth century.

XXI.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE Republic of 1875, born as it was so unexpectedly, inspired little confidence at home or abroad. For their part, the disunited Monarchists regarded the new constitution as a breathing space, and confidently awaited the moment when MacMahon would retire, and his powers be handed on intact to Napoleon IV. or Philippe VII. or Henry V. In England the gravest doubts were expressed as to the stability of the new order. Thus, for instance, the *Times* wrote in its annual summary for 1875: "It is a perilous and weak policy to frame constitutions, as a great criminal lately arranged his dynamite, on the calculation that they will explode after a certain interval." But nowhere was this fresh venture watched more narrowly than in the German chancellery. Mistrustful of MacMahon, and mindful of the labours of Gambetta in the late war, Bismarck instantly seized the opportunity for another brandishing of the big stick. On 11th March the duc Decazes showed Lord Lyons a remonstrance against the Belgian Ultramontanes lodged at Brussels by Bismarck, who was now in the full cry of his anti-clericalism. A copy of this Belgian note had been pointedly addressed to the French Minister of Foreign

Affairs by the inexorable tyrant across the Rhine. When, at his bidding, the French Government had called the bishops sharply to order in the preceding year, the only response they got for their pains was a declaration from Arnim, the Prussian Ambassador, that the question was only closed "so far as any question between you and us can ever be looked upon as closed." It was with a heavy heart, therefore, that Decazes saw the Chancellor at his old tricks. Nor were his anxieties lessened by the prohibition placed upon the export of horses from Germany. A month later, on 10th April, the menace became more imminent. On that day appeared an inspired article in the *Berlin Post*, entitled, "Is War in Sight?" Terrified at the prospect of another war before France had recovered her strength—for this was Bismarck's aim—Decazes made frantic appeals to London and St. Petersburg, urging diplomatic intervention at Berlin. So serious was the situation that Queen Victoria addressed a personal letter to the Czar on behalf of France, disregarding a "friendly" warning received from Bismarck as to Russia's anti-British aims. On 10th May the Emperor of Russia arrived in Berlin. The air cleared rapidly, for that very night Bismarck was all smiles to the British Ambassador. On the next day, however, he betrayed considerable resentment against the Russian Minister, Gortschakoff, which was hardly mollified on the 12th, when the latter telegraphed laconically to St. Petersburg: "Peace is assured." For once Bismarck had to acknowledge defeat, and draw in his horns.

In March 1875 the Marshal summoned M. Buffet to the vice-presidency of the Council, with M. Dufaure, then in his seventy-ninth year, as Minister of

Justice. These kept things going until the final dissolution of the Assembly at the commencement of 1876. On 30th January the elections for the 225 senators took place. Out of these, with the 75 nominated by the late Assembly, a slight Conservative-Septennate majority obtained. A month later the deputies were elected. The Republicans gained some 350 seats, the Bonapartists nearly 80, and the Orleanist-Legitimists 100. As for M. Buffet, he failed to secure election, and the Marshal installed M. Dufaure in office with a curiously heterogeneous collection of ministers—de Cissey at the War Office, Decazes at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, together with MM. Ricard, Waddington, Christophle, Teisserenc de Bort, Léon Say, and Fourichon. Dufaure's own chequered career served as a symbol for the Ministry generally. Born in 1798, he had served as a Minister under Louis-Philippe and Cavaignac; he had been a consistent enemy of Louis-Napoleon; and, lastly, had been Minister of Justice under Thiers and MacMahon.

Directly the elections were over, the Imperialists and Monarchists announced their provisional adherence to the reorganized Republic, and France seemed assured of a period of internal quiet. But the disunited character of the Cabinet was ill-adapted for taking a strong line, or any line, and on 1st December it broke up. "The cleverness of the adversaries of the Republic, masters of the Presidency," says M. Hanotaux, "the hasty constitution of the Dufaure Cabinet and a latent antagonism between Republicans, created from the very first a state of things which singularly perturbed and complicated the working of the new institutions." Dufaure, caught be-

tween the rivalry of the Senate and the deputies, and between the Elysée and the Palais Bourbon, fell. His obvious successor was Gambetta. But the Marshal-President, encouraged by Broglie and Decazes, his faithful henchmen, was inflexibly opposed to his choice. To have Gambetta as Premier was, in his eyes, to return to the radical Republic of 4th September. This could only be done by the surrender of the Septennate, which MacMahon, considering it as a sacred trust, had no intention of doing. In point of fact, the parliamentary Republic established in 1875 could not begin its labours until the expiry of the Marshal's powers in 1880. And in the meantime, though a precarious majority in the Senate (in which most of the reactionaries of the Assembly had managed to take refuge) upheld the Septennate, the Republican deputies were in no mood to wait. It was inevitable that sooner or later the Marshal and the Chamber would come to blows.

In the meantime, as the extreme limit of concession, Jules Simon was entrusted with the vice-presidency of the Council. Harried by all parties, and especially by Clericals under Bishop Dupanloup, he led a troubled existence. On 3rd May he successfully defended his attitude towards the Church and the Vatican, despite an overwhelming assault by Gambetta—"Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi." But when there came up for discussion a new Press law a few days later he was less successful. In a letter of 16th May—the famous *seize Mai*—the Marshal sharply called the Premier to order for going behind the decisions of the Cabinet, and demanded an explanation. This, of course, as was intended, procured Simon's resignation; but at the same time it put the Marshal

in open defiance to the Chamber. MacMahon was a soldier, not a politician, and he expected explicit obedience. Mistrustful of the Radicals, he fell back upon the weapon of authority, disregarded the wishes of the popular representatives, and lent himself to a policy of reaction. His letter was a literary *coup d'état*, and if it was within his rights, it was at the same time in the highest degree inexpedient and provocative. "The letter of the 16th May," comments Hanotaux, "was not unconstitutional; it was the inevitable logical corollary of the constitution. The constitution of 1875 had attempted to combine the Republic and the Monarchy; it had attempted to consolidate what was provisional, and to fix what was transitory."

Having thrown down the gauntlet, MacMahon recalled the duc de Broglie, and hurled defiance at the deputies, who, on the proposition of Gambetta, promptly passed a resolution demanding a Cabinet free in its action and guided by republican principles. The Government being in a minority, a general election became inevitable, and the Marshal and Premier took measures to secure a favourable result by replacing the provincial prefects and officials by their own nominees. In September, by a fresh exercise of his prerogative, MacMahon dismissed the Chamber, and issued an election address to the country in true military style. After recapitulating the blessings of peace, order, and prosperity which his four years' rule had brought to a distracted country, he continued: "These results were, however, threatened with danger. The Chamber of Deputies, daily throwing off the leadership of moderate men, and more and more dominated by the leaders of the

avowed Republican party, at length forgot the share of authority which belonged to me. . . . At the last election an abuse was made of my name. Amongst those who then proclaimed themselves my friends, many have not ceased to oppose me. People still speak to you of devotion to my person, and assert that they only attack my ministers. Do not be duped by this artifice. To frustrate it, my Government will designate among its candidates those who alone are authorized to make use of my name" (19th September). Evidently the Marshal ill-comprehended the *rôle* of a constitutional monarch. The return of a Septennate rather than a Republican majority was impossible, and all the President gained by this descent into the arena of party politics was a severe electoral defeat. In the new Chamber there were 335 Republicans and only 198 official candidates, including 90 Bonapartists, 40 Legitimists, and 68 "Conservatives." For a moment MacMahon contemplated a second throw of the dice; but the duc Pasquier, who presided over the Senate, made it clear the senators would withhold their permission from a further election. Sorrowfully, therefore, the Marshal parted with de Broglie, and again installed Dufaure in office.

The year 1878 opened with the death of the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II., whose thirty years' reign had seen the kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont grow into a united Italy, a development in which France had been most intimately concerned. Strangely enough, his rival in Rome, Pius IX., after a pontificate almost exactly contemporary, and now become the "prisoner of the Vatican," died just a month later—7th February. On the whole, the year was

one of quiet at home, though the by-elections consistently added strength to the Republicans, and the balance in the Senate was so even that it took five successive elections to appoint a successor for General d'Aurelle de Paladines. The summer months were taken up with the Paris Exhibition, planned on a scale even vaster than that of 1867; and, despite the absence of all the crowned heads of Europe, most successful.

Concurrently with the Exhibition occurred the Congress of Berlin (June 1878). France sent M. Waddington, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the son of an English manufacturer naturalized in France, as her plenipotentiary. Above all he was instructed to keep France clear of international difficulties, and, if possible, to keep the discussions limited to the regions immediately affected by the Russo-Turkish War. Under these circumstances the British Cabinet, afraid of a refusal, omitted to invite France's co-operation in stemming Russian aggression in Asia Minor; and on June 4th concluded a secret agreement with the Turks, by which Great Britain was to hold Cyprus as a base for possible future operations in Armenia. Lord Salisbury found it a task of great difficulty to break this news to Waddington, and finally did so in a letter (6th July). This incident acquired a deeper significance later on, because the French Government alleged that Lord Salisbury at this time, in a conversation with M. Waddington, suggested a French seizure of Tunis. On returning from Berlin Waddington addressed two letters to the Foreign Office, requesting an explicit statement of the attitude of England in regard to Egypt and Tunis; but a hitch occurred, and the negotiation

came to nothing. Just at this very time the Prince of Wales was in Paris, and Gambetta, being entertained to breakfast, expressed himself favourable to a Franco-British rather than Franco-Russian alliance.

In January 1879 the first triennial elections to the Senate took place, and the Republicans, gaining sixty-six of the eighty-two vacant seats, established a majority in the Upper House. No sooner was this done than the two Chambers, at last in accord, called for the dismissal of the officials, military and civil, implicated in the electoral machinations of 1877. MacMahon was soon engaged in signing away the powers of those very functionaries who had obediently done their level best to secure him a majority. He consented for a time; but when he came to the names of his old military comrades, he could stand it no longer. Refusing to go further, he resigned. His work, indeed, was done. He had tided over the transition period; the Septennate became an anachronism after 1875, and it was time the Republic got under way. On 30th January the united Chambers elected M. Jules Grévy, then President of the Lower House, in his stead. Grévy was an old man, now seventy-two, one of those strange relics of 1848 who still haunted the scene. In no way a genius or a leader, his chief assets were long experience, moderation, and a reputation for impartiality. Gambetta safely excluded from the supreme power, the deputies established him as President of the Chamber. At last the Republic got clear of dock, and started off on its maiden voyage.

During the first year of Grévy's presidency several important events took place. Already, at the New Year, the Anglo-French commercial treaty had been

denounced. In June the Prince Imperial, who had accompanied the British expedition to Zululand in a private capacity, was killed. With his death the greatest menace to the new order passed away, since his heir, the democratic, anti-clerical, erratic Prince Napoleon, was not the kind of person for whom it was worth while risking another *coup d'état*. Then also, this same year, the Chambers signalized the termination of the provisional *régime* by removing the scene of their labours to Paris. The Septennate gone, Napoleon IV. dead, the Assembly back in the capital—that was excellent progress for a single year.

Abroad, Egypt and Tunis were the great problems. Egypt had been a source of interest to Frenchmen for many years. Mehemet Ali, the *protégé* of Thiers in 1840, died in 1848, and was succeeded by a nephew, Abbas I., who was assassinated six years later, and succeeded by his uncle, Said Pasha, who granted M. de Lesseps and a French company the right of constructing the Suez Canal (1856). Said, in his turn, died in 1863, and was succeeded by a nephew, Ismail, the son of Ibrahim Pasha. Ismail was a man of grand ideas, and launched out into the most reckless schemes of improvement, with a view to rendering Egypt a part of Europe. At the same time he carried on a series of costly wars with Abyssinia and his rebellious subjects in the Soudan, which resulted in complete failure. The consequence of these costly adventures was that Ismail brought his country to the verge of bankruptcy. To liquidate his debts, he was obliged to sell his personal assets, and on November 25, 1875, disposed of his interest in the Canal to the British Government for four million pounds. Thus France and England both

became interested in the Canal, and therefore in Egyptian affairs. Both countries, acting together, sent diplomatic missions; and in November 1876 a system of dual control over the Egyptian finances was inaugurated, the English to oversee the revenue, the French the expenditure. But in September 1878 the two countries, after a further mission, induced the Khedive to accept constitutional government, with a native Prime Minister, an English Finance Minister, and a Frenchman for Minister of Public Works. When, after a few months, Ismail by a military *coup d'état* overthrew this government, France, against England's wishes, desired that the Sultan, as suzerain, should depose him, which he eventually did by an abrupt telegram to the Khedive, June 26, 1879. His son Tewfik succeeded him, and in November the Dual Control was re-established under Major Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) and M. de Blignières.

It was at this time that Waddington's ministry of 4th February broke up, and was succeeded by a Cabinet under de Freycinet. This, in its turn, broke up late in 1880, and Jules Ferry became Prime Minister. The eager temperament of the French people ill accords with parliamentary institutions, and cabinets succeed one another with lightning-like rapidity. So much so that legislation under the Republic has become extremely difficult by the absence of continuity of policy. Thus, from the resignation of MacMahon, there were no less than fourteen changes of government in ten years; while in twenty years Lord Lyons dealt with twenty-one different Foreign Ministers. Jules Ferry's first premiership was notable for the inauguration of a vigorous colonial policy. Since France could no longer interfere successfully in

the affairs of Europe, Ferry conceived the idea of extending her possessions abroad, and establishing a vast colonial empire. Tunis was the first of his ventures. Bordering upon the confines of Algeria, which had been gradually conquered during the reigns of Charles X. and Louis-Philippe, and consolidated under the Empire, it offered a fair field for a commencement. Upon pretence of chastising frontier tribes and protecting the Bey against the rapacity of his suzerain the Sultan, a French force invaded his territories, occupied the capital, and extorted the Treaty of El Bardo (May 12, 1881). From this moment Tunis became a French protectorate. As an answer to the protests of the English Government, the French alleged that Lord Salisbury had given them original encouragement, and for the rest, took the law into their own hands. The helpless Sultan was forced to acquiesce in a proceeding he was powerless to prevent; but Italy took umbrage at a French seizure of the ancient territory of the Carthaginians, and in 1882 revenged herself by joining in the Triple Alliance. This alliance was originally engineered by Bismarck in October 1877, when, forced to choose between the friendship of Russia or Austria, he chose Austria; and concluded a treaty stipulating that if either of the two Powers were attacked by Russia alone, or with any other nation, the other should come to its assistance; while in wars in which Russia was not implicated, the other Power should maintain an attitude of neutrality. The meaning of this was clear. Should France attack Germany, Austria would remain neutral. Should France and Russia combine against Germany, they would have to fight both Germany and Austria.

What the Tunisian protectorate did was to throw a mortified Italy into the arms of the two Teutonic Powers, and to convert a Dual Alliance into a Triple Alliance. Renewed from time to time, this treaty continued in force until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. Yet Bismarck, anxious to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, actually concluded a secret covenant with Russia in 1884, under which if Germany or Russia were attacked by another Power the other would remain neutral. Thus an Austro-Russian or a Franco-German war would be fought out unmolested. But in face of the weakening effect on the more vital treaty of 1879 produced by this piece of double dealing, the agreement was not renewed on its expiration in 1890. Instead, the Triple Alliance held the field.

But although Bismarck was favourable to the Tunisian expedition, glad to have the French distracted from affairs more nearly touching him, Ferry's countrymen, in Parliament and out of it, betrayed a good deal of hostility to the new policy, and this led in November to his resignation. At last, after many shifts and hesitations, President Grévy was obliged to call upon Gambetta to undertake the formation of a Cabinet. His immeasurable popularity among the Republican party, and in the country generally, had long made him the dominant figure in contemporary politics. Yet the extremists on both sides suspected him, and not the less because of his recent studied moderation. Earlier in the year he had, indeed, commenced an agitation for the restoration of the *scrutin de liste*, believed to be a weapon favourable to his party, and had carried the Chamber with him; but the Senate were not prepared to go so

far, and his motion was rejected (June 19, 1881). Now, abandoning the presidency of the Chamber, he descended into the whirlpool of ministerial authority armed with a long list of social reforms, and supported by a Cabinet composed, indeed, of new men, but of men of whom most would achieve success later on. His guiding hand in foreign affairs, favourable to co-operation in Egypt, was cordially welcomed by the English Cabinet. And affairs were critical indeed, since Arabi Pasha had led a successful revolt against the Khedival officials in September; and it had become obvious that military measures must be adopted for the preservation of European interests. On January 8, 1882, the two Powers presented a dual note, declaring their intention of suppressing "external or internal complications which might menace the *régime* established in Egypt." Concert being again obtained, and the recent suspicions as to English aggression allayed, things looked favourable for the moment. But no sooner had the sun shone out than fresh clouds swept across the skies. On 27th January the jealousy and distrust of the great demagogue, supposed to be aiming at a dictatorship, culminated in his defeat and resignation. Instantly French politics resolved into their natural turmoil. In place of Gambetta came back de Freycinet. Inclining one minute towards Anglo-French intervention in Egypt, and opposed to it the next, his Cabinet remained in a condition of hopeless indecision on everything. When, after the massacre at Alexandria, it became necessary to concert an attack on Arabi Pasha, the French held back; so that on 11th July the British fleet bombarded Alexandria alone, and from that moment French interference in Egypt was at an end.

On 19th July Gambetta, in a speech of great power, persuaded the Chamber to preserve co-operation with England; but immediately after, de Freycinet returned to his habitual hesitation, and declared that he was only prepared to defend the Suez Canal. His proposition was defeated, and on 4th August he resigned.

The end of the year was marked by a great disaster. On 31st December Gambetta died. It had been known for some time that he was suffering from the effect of a pistol-shot, the origin of which has never been definitely settled; but no one anticipated a fatal termination. But his immense labours had worn out his strength, and he succumbed. His transcendent personality, his prodigious energy, his unrivalled oratory, his adamant patriotism, had put him in the first place after the fall of Thiers. With his death passed away the one outstanding, dominant figure in the Republic. Henceforth France, once ruled by giants, was to be ruled by a race of smaller men. Once again the political world dissolved into a state of chaos, and two governments fell in less than a month—Duclerc on 29th January, and Fallières on 21st February. Then Jules Ferry returned to power, and kept together a government for the unprecedented space of two years (February 21, 1883, to March 31, 1885).

The task of the Ferry Government was by no means enviable. Early in January Prince Napoleon had emerged from his obscurity, and in a public proclamation held up the Republic to obloquy, and taunted it with atheism. For this he was arrested on his doorstep in the avenue d'Antin, and consigned to Louis-Napoleon's former residence—the Conciergerie, and a proposal to exile the royal and imperial

families was promptly introduced by Duclerc; but it was rejected by the Senate, and engendered his downfall. Three weeks later the Fallières Cabinet came to grief on the same rock. On taking office, M. Ferry, to the accompaniment of riots among the pupils of the Lycée Louis le Grand and the unemployed, cut the knot and secured the exclusion of the Orleans princes from their military commands. Order being restored, he again launched out on his favourite colonial policy. Cochin-China had already been annexed by Napoleon III., and Ferry now proceeded to lay hands on the remainder of Indo-China, a protectorate over Annam and Tonkin being established in 1883-84, not without, however, desultory hostilities with China. Next he turned his attention to Madagascar, basing his claims on a treaty of 1841. In May 1883 the Hovas declined his ultimatum, and Tamatave was bombarded by a French squadron; but it was not until December 17, 1885 (after the resignation of Ferry), that peace was concluded on the basis of the island's foreign affairs being directed by France, and certain territories ceded to her entirely. A fresh war ensued at the end of 1894, and it was only in 1900 that General Gallieni overcame all resistance, and consolidated the Protectorate, which had ten years before been recognized by Great Britain. It was Ferry, too, who directed the exploration of the sources of the Nile and of the Congo, and paved the way to the occupation of the Sahara.

At home affairs remained involved in gloom, a gloom illuminated for a moment on August 24, 1883, by the death of the comte de Chambord. Impracticable as the prince proved as a pretender, he had remained an ever-present source of anxiety. Now,

with his death, the French Bourbons, the House of France of many centuries of changing fortunes, came to an end, and their claims passed to the duc d'Orléans, or, as he was generally called, the comte de Paris. In the interval Prince Napoleon, his arrest being declared illegal by the judges, had been set at liberty. Yet no improvement manifested itself in the general situation. When, at the end of September, the King of Spain, fresh from being honoured by the Kaiser, arrived in Paris, he was insulted by a howling, anti-German mob, and M. Grévy was compelled to offer an official apology. "I do not remember," wrote Lord Lyons on 5th October, "any moment at which affairs here have appeared to me so gloomy." While, at the end of November, he continued in the same strain: "Things at home are looking gloomy in France. There is likely to be a stagnation of trade and generally much distress during the winter. People of all classes are getting irritable."

Taking advantage of the unusual stability of the Ferry Government, the Chambers united themselves into one National Assembly in 1884, and took measures to consolidate the Republic. A somewhat fatuous resolution was adopted, declaring that the Republican constitution could never be made the subject of revision; further, in view of the proceedings of 1848, all members of families which had once reigned in France were disqualified from the office of President of the Republic; and, finally, the nominated senators were abolished and the departmental electoral colleges left to choose all senators (13th August). These measures were supplemented early in 1885 by the adoption of the *scrutin de liste*, Gambetta being safely out of the way. Before, however, the elections took

place, Ferry was out of office. On 28th March news reached Paris of a defeat suffered by the Tonkin army at Lang-Son. Misled by exaggerated accounts of this incident, the extreme Right and the extreme Left combined against the Premier, and on 30th March (by 306 votes to 149) refused a fresh vote of credit. Next day, to the accompaniment of violent popular demonstrations, mobs besieging the Palais Bourbon, Ferry handed in his resignation. For a second time distrust of his colonial policy tumbled down his Cabinet.

After a good deal of manœuvring, M. Brisson got together a government a week later. Affairs were in an anxious condition. Just at this time Russian operations in Afghanistan had aroused the fears of England; and France, the heavens being obscured by an Anglo-Russian war cloud, trembled lest she might again be left helpless and without allies to face the wrath of the German Chancellor. Happily, the atmosphere cleared. But at home the unrest continued, and in June the funeral of Victor Hugo, a demagogue second only to Gambetta, was made the occasion of a grand popular demonstration upon the part of the Socialists and Jacobins. In the prevailing uncertainty it was not surprising that the elections were symptomatic of the general uneasiness. As in all great crises, the moderates cast their votes on behalf of men of substance inclined towards monarchy. The Republican Centre—the party in power—lost heavily, and the extremes gained in proportion. No less than forty-five per cent. of the votes were cast for the Orleanists, and had but half the abstainers rallied to the standard of Philippe VII., the Third Republic would have been at an end. As

it was, the Chambers, in default of a strong man, re-elected M. Grévy, at no time an inspiring or popular figure, to the presidency when, at the end of the year, his term of office expired (28th December).

Things took on a very different complexion when, on January 7, 1885, M. de Freycinet formed his third administration. In General Boulanger, the new War Minister, a fervid democrat, Frenchmen thought they had found that outstanding patriot they stood in so much need of. Possessed of a handsome person and engaging manners, and withal a brave soldier, the General, once reckoned as an Orleanist, but now a disciple of M. Clemenceau, had already brought himself into prominence by his extravagant eulogiums upon the army in Algeria. When, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, the Princess Amélie, to Don Carlos of Portugal (May 22, 1886), "Philippe VII." organized a state banquet at his residence in the rue de Grenelle, the Government (mindful of the recent election) took alarm, and succeeded in carrying through the Chamber that Exclusion Bill that had wrecked two Cabinets in 1883. It fell to Boulanger to deprive the duc de Chartres and the duc d'Aumale of their military rank, a duty he carried out with ill-concealed insult. To revenge themselves, the Royalist journals promptly published a series of inconveniently grateful letters written by the General to d'Aumale, thanking him for past favours. Boulanger at first denied their authenticity, but finally was forced to admit it. Thereupon the *Intransigent* and *Lanterne* newspapers, ever ready for a campaign of abuse against those in high places, espoused the War Minister's cause, and held him up to admiration as the staunch defender of democracy against tyrants.

Instantly the General became the hero of the hour amongst the *canaille*; and when, on the great *fête* of the Revolution, he appeared at the Longchamp review, magnificently uniformed, on his black circus horse, he became the object of the wildest enthusiasm and the centre of all eyes—this “music hall St. Arnaud,” as Jules Ferry irreverently described him (July 14, 1886).

In England popular cries are directed rather towards measures than men; in France towards men rather than measures. As a consequence, progress proceeds less uniformly in Paris than in London; affairs now advance, now recede, now advance again at a breakneck pace, all according to the measure of the popular idol of the moment. Boulanger seemed marked out as the “man” of his generation, and his popularity went up with lightning speed. His six months’ ascent from nonentity to notoriety, inexplicable in any other country, is parallel to that of not a few of his countrymen, among whom may be instanced Lafayette in 1830, Lamartine in 1848, Louis-Napoleon also in 1848, and Thiers in 1871. What is the more remarkable is that, considering France tires of and casts off her idols with equal rapidity, the General maintained his own position so long, and in the end only lost it by his own fault. For the three years 1886–89 his personality not only dominated French politics, but absolutely obscured every other luminary. When, in December 1886, M. Goblet replaced de Freycinet, no one dared displace Boulanger at the War Office. In April 1887 a fresh opportunity for adding to his laurels befell the Minister. A great commotion was excited by the arrest of a French police agent named Schnaebelé on the Lorraine

frontier by the German authorities. It was afterwards proved that Schnaebelé was on a pre-arranged visit to Herr Gautsch, the local German functionary, and Bismarck released him; but Boulanger refused to accept the release as a settlement, and ostentatiously announced that he would carry out military manœuvres in the eastern districts during the summer. This Chauvinism alarmed the politicians, and when, in May, M. Rouvier took the lead, he courageously excluded the General from his Cabinet. Determined to be rid of him, his popularity being now greater than ever, the Government sent him down to take command of the army corps at Clermont-Ferrand. His departure was made the occasion of fresh demonstrations upon the part of Déroulède and his supporters, which were renewed at the 14th of July review.

Chance now threw in Boulanger's way a glorious opportunity. In October General Caffarel, a staff officer at the War Office, was suddenly dismissed on a charge of dishonesty. Instantly Boulanger charged the Government with making a cowardly and spiteful attack upon Caffarel because they dared not attack himself. For this offence he was imprisoned for thirty days. This was the signal for another campaign of violence on the part of the Déroulède newspapers, who in no measured terms denounced President Grévy, and especially his son-in-law, M. Wilson, as accomplices in Caffarel's misdeeds. On 7th November the trial commenced, and the truth emerged. It was proved that Caffarel, in league with Wilson and others, had carried on a surreptitious trade for the sale of political honours. Suspicion of connivance in these proceedings even fastened upon the aged

occupant of the Elysée himself—the President was now eighty years old. To make matters worse, it was revealed that certain papers of an incriminating nature had been abstracted from the *dossier* by the police in the interest of Wilson. Stirred by this scandal, popular excitement rose to fever heat, and the Chambers broadly hinted to the President that his resignation would help matters. As Grévy hesitated, a number of leading statesmen issued a notice stating their refusal ever to accept office at his hands. The President, therefore, resigned (2nd December).

Suddenly confronted with the necessity of appointing a new head of the State, the Assembly had no one ready. Two candidates, however, were quickly forthcoming—de Freycinet, already three times premier, and Floquet, a Radical lawyer who had gained immortal notoriety by shouting “Vive la Pologne, monsieur,” in the ears of the Czar at the Palais de Justice in 1867, and had taken an active part in the Revolution of 4th September. On the other hand, the Orleanists were prepared to vote for Jules Ferry in the hope that unpopularity would drive him out of office and, in the consequent general discredit of the Republic, pave the way for a Restoration. Under these circumstances, seeing the disunion of the Republicans, Clemenceau strongly advocated the claims of M. Sadi Carnot, who bore a name of revolutionary fame, and filled the post of Minister of Finance with credit. The National Assembly, having met in the theatre of the château de Versailles according to custom, adopted his view, and Carnot was elected (December 3, 1887). And what was Boulanger doing in this crisis? His support lying in the country rather than the Chambers, he stood no chance as a candidate.

Yet had the election lain with the people there would have been no doubt of the result. As it was, two of the candidates, de Freycinet and Floquet, had promised that in the event of election they would restore him to his post at the *Ministère de la Guerre*. But Boulanger had a greater opportunity than this. Had he rallied the "patriots," and shown himself in the boulevards, he could have established himself in the supreme power by a bloodless *coup d'état*. This was his grand chance, and he betrayed his essential weakness by failure to turn the situation to his own account.

Carnot succeeded Grévy in the midst of unrest which had become almost chronic. On 10th December he formed a Cabinet under M. Tirard, a practical man of affairs rather than a politician. But already Boulanger was dissatisfied with his recent failure, and anxious to move upon a wider stage than Clermont-Ferrand. In February he was nominated for election to the Chamber, and, refusing to withdraw his name at the request of the Minister of War, was removed from his command. He revenged himself by openly entering the political arena, and was elected for the Aisne by an enormous majority. For this he was expelled the army, a blunder which cost the Government dear, since it enabled the dictator not only to secure a seat, but to occupy it. Boulanger entered the Chamber, and declared himself a Revisionist—the clumsiness of the constitution having already inclined not a few members of every political group to favour Revision. His popularity was now unbounded. His name was on every one's lips. His portrait was placarded in every commune; while his friends determined to put forward his candidature at every by-election. At the music halls songs were

sung in his honour ; from every sitting of the deputies the popular idol was escorted home by a crowd of many thousands. The general unrest, the outcry when the Cour de Cassation quashed Wilson's sentence, the popularity of Revision, all added fuel to the flames. In April Tirard was overturned on a Revisionist motion, and Floquet took his place. When, in June, Floquet declared the time not ripe for Revision, Boulanger violently attacked him in the Chamber, and continued his onslaught in July by demanding a dissolution. Floquet retaliated, and the scene ended in a duel between premier and dictator, from which Boulanger retired wounded somewhat seriously in the neck (July 13, 1888).

But whatever may have been the General's principles or motives at the start, he was no longer pure in his patriotism. Already he was deeply compromised by secret negotiations with, and financial assistance from, the monarchists—both Orleanist and Imperialist. To secure his election in the Aisne, the duchesse d'Uzès spent no less than 200,000 francs ; while the comte de Paris, on his part, declared himself a convert to the *plébiscite*. Recovered from his wounds, Boulanger risked a further trial of strength early in the new year. He stood for the department of the Seine, essaying to measure his strength in the capital, and was returned by a majority of 80,000 suffrages (January 27, 1889). A *coup d'état* at this juncture would have put the General at the head of the State, supported by the overwhelming good will of the people ; but Boulanger and his advisers were singularly devoid of political sagacity, and seemed incapable of seizing an opportunity.

Now thoroughly alarmed, the unfortunate Min-

istry, in prospect of the September general election, summoned up sufficient courage, while Boulanger was still in the minority at the Palais Bourbon, to abolish the *scrutin de liste* and restore the *scrutin d'arrondissement*, in the belief that single-member constituencies would be less favourable to the Boulangists. No sooner was this accomplished than the Floquet Cabinet was defeated, and resigned. In their place came back M. Tirard; and M. Constans (an old hand at the manipulation of election results) went to the Ministry of the Interior. Thus one by one weapons were forged for a supreme trial of strength in September. But it was just at this moment that, by an unfortunate blunder, a French warship fired upon some missionaries of the Greek Church on their way to Abyssinia; and the French Government were obliged to apologize to the Czar, whose friendship had recently cooled consequent on the political anarchy in the Republic. Alleging the humiliation inflicted upon France by the Government, the *Déroulède* newspapers launched out on a fresh attack. Constans advised a prosecution of *Déroulède's* organization, the Patriots' League, once a violent Radical-Republican association, but now wholly devoted to the Boulangist cause, on a charge of high treason. To this the Chamber agreed, and, what was far more important, determined to strike at Boulanger himself.

The General saw the game was up, and fled. On the eve of his departure M. Albert Verly dined with him at the mansion in the rue Dumont d'Urville. He found Boulanger "sad, anxious, and many times during our conversation his eyes filled with tears; he frequently passed his hand across his forehead, as

if to drive away some painful thought." Nor was the situation eased when one of the guests (with more truth than he knew) exclaimed, "Ah! General, this is the banquet of the Girondists." Next day, 1st April, Boulanger stole away secretly to Brussels, whence he wrote to the Government, stating that he was willing to be tried by a jury of his fellow-countrymen, but not by his political adversaries. At first Paris refused to believe the news; but when at last they recognized the truth, the inevitable reaction set in. Frenchmen saw they had been fooled by a handsome adventurer. The glamour was dispelled, and Boulangism came to an inglorious end. As for the General, he knew that discretion was the better part of valour, and kept safely out of harm's way. He made his home first in Brussels, then in London, afterwards in Jersey; and finally he committed suicide in a Brussels cemetery (September 1891). This course was not open to his innumerable followers—Imperialist, Orleanist, and Republican. The great "patriot" unmasked, and all chances of his playing the part of Monk (a favourite subject of study among his countrymen) at an end, it only remained for his devotees to make the best terms they could with the Republic, and withdraw into seclusion for a space. When the September elections arrived, the great Monarchist vote of 1885 dwindled down to less than half of its former strength, and the Republicans returned to power with a clear majority of 150. As for the Boulangist candidates, they were defeated on every hand.

Had Boulanger possessed a tithe of the genius of Louis-Napoleon, the Third Republic would have succumbed as easily as the Second. He failed, and the Republic was saved, yet as by fire.

The eclipse of the General left politics devoid of interest for the time being, and the fourth great Paris Exhibition, memorable for the erection of the colossal Eiffel Tower, absorbed all interest during the summer. At the end of the year constitutional waters were again agitated by an exploit of the heir of the comte de Paris, who came over, disregarding the law of exile, and claimed the right to serve his time in the army. For his pains the Government arrested him, and imprisoned him for a time in the dungeons of the Conciergerie (December 1889). On September 8, 1894, his father died at Stowe, and the young duc d'Orléans inherited the tangled destinies of the Bourbon-Orléans family. As for the Imperialists, Prince Napoleon died in March 1891, leaving the claims of his dynasty to his elder son, Prince Victor-Napoleon, born at Paris July 18, 1861. A younger son, Prince Louis, became a general in the Russian army.

XXII.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

IT will be convenient at this point to glance at the foreign affairs of France at the opening of 1890. The Republic seemed on its feet, and the Bismarckian menace, consequent on the friendly offices of the Czar Alexander III., was less to be feared than for many years. On the other hand, the finger of Bismarck was to be seen in the policy of colonial expansion initiated by Jules Ferry, and with the result the Chancellor anticipated. These African enterprises embroiled France in territorial disputes with England, and had induced Italy, jealous over Tunis, to throw in her lot with the Austro-German allies. Except, indeed, for a somewhat vague understanding with Russia, France, still weak, stood in isolation. It was with a sigh of relief therefore that, in March 1890, she saw the young German Emperor, William II., "drop the pilot," and take command of his own ship. For thirty years Bismarck had flouted France, trampled on her, kicked her when she was down, and now his own hour was come. As Chancellor of the Empire he wielded absolute power under William I. and the unhappy Emperor Frederick. William II. was made of different stuff, and at the first collision promptly intimated that for

the future he would recognize the dictation of no chancellor but himself.

In the early months of 1891 the Empress Frederick, once the English Princess Royal, visited Paris, and not unnaturally went over to Versailles and had a look at the celebrated Galerie des Glaces, where her husband's father, on January 18, 1871, had been proclaimed Emperor of Germany. But this excursion wounded French susceptibilities, easily aroused at all times, and a violent anti-German campaign arose in the Press. At this very time Alexander III.—so it is understood, for the negotiations have never been made public—opportunistically stepped in and made suggestions for a Franco-Russian alliance. The French fleet visited Cronstadt in July, and received an enthusiastic welcome. In this way were forged the first links destined to bind together the interests of the most easterly and most westerly Powers of Europe. The same year a convention was concluded with England, delimiting the Franco-British spheres of influence in East and West Africa and the Soudan.

In February 1892 Pope Leo XIII. announced his recognition of the Republic by the issue of the encyclical *Inter innumeras*. He deprecated the charges of "godlessness" brought against the State by certain Catholics, and, declaring that "the civil power upon every theory comes from God," called upon the faithful to rally round the Republic. As a consequence a group of Catholic *ralliés* was formed in Parliament under the leadership of Count Albert de Mun, and relations between Church and State, not a little strained of late, became more amicable.

On 27th February M. Loubet became Premier in succession to de Freycinet, who had, following on the

second Tirard Cabinet, just resigned office for the fourth time. During his tenure the Panama scandal developed. As long ago as 1879 M. de Lesseps, the distinguished engineer of the Suez Canal, had taken steps for the construction of a waterway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. At first the company's shares hung fire upon the market, and after the work was started many and unexpected difficulties were encountered, all of which caused delay and increased the cost. When things were at their worst, in 1888, the Assembly authorized the issue of a further loan ; but even this failed to keep things going, and on February 4, 1889, the company was declared bankrupt and an examination instituted into its affairs. Whispers of misappropriation and bribery were heard in the newspapers ; but nothing very definite occurred until the autumn of 1892, when the country learned of the mysterious death of a Jewish banker, Baron Jacques de Reinach, whose name had been coupled with the affair. Popular feeling then compelled the Government to institute a prosecution against Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps, two other directors, and the contractor, M. Eiffel. So far it seemed to be an ordinary financial scandal. But things took on a new aspect when Floquet, now President of the Chamber, committed political *hara-kiri* by boldly acknowledging complicity in a course of systematic bribery pursued by the company while he was Prime Minister. His own share, he said in defence of himself, was limited to the distribution of £12,000 among the Government newspapers. However, the rumours confirmed, the matter was not allowed to rest here, and M. Delabaye openly declared at the tribune that the support of the Assembly in

1888 had been bought by the payment of bribes to individual deputies, and hinted at de Reinach as the intermediary in these transactions. A parliamentary commission was appointed, and when M. Loubet declined to permit the exhumation of de Reinach's body, as a means of clearing up the allegations of suicide, he was defeated, and resigned. Under the short Ribot Ministry (December 6, 1892, to April 14, 1893) everything came to light. A number of ex-ministers, as well as M. Clemenceau, the great destroyer of ministries, were alleged in one way or another to have been implicated. Eventually twelve senators and deputies were brought to trial, and though only one was actually convicted, no small suspicion was entertained that he was not the only politician guilty. As for the directors, they were all condemned to fines and imprisonment. Unsatisfactory as were the judgments, France was glad to be rid of the business, which had tarnished the political shield not a little.

M. Ribot's successor was Charles Dupuy, followed in December by M. Casimir-Périer. On May 30, 1894, Dupuy entered upon a second premiership, and his Cabinet was notable for the commencement of M. Gabriel Hanotaux's four years' labours at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With the exception of the few months of the Bourgeois Ministry (November 1895 to April 1896), M. Hanotaux directed French foreign policy continuously from May 1894 to June 1898, retaining his portfolio in no less than four ministries. He and his successor, M. Théophile Delcassé, have been the two strongest foreign ministers of France in recent times. But their policies, each of them useful to their country, were directed by differ-

ing aims. Hanotaux was pre-eminently the advocate of the Russian alliance, and by no means sympathetic towards England. Delcassé, on the other hand, did all in his power to further the Anglo-French *entente cordiale*, and was one of the founders of the wider Anglo-Franco-Russian understanding.

At this time France had cause to remember that crowned heads do not possess a monopoly in the attentions of assassins. On June 24, 1894, President Carnot was stabbed to death at Lyons by an Italian named Caserio, in revenge for reprisals undertaken against a band of anarchists who had engineered a series of dynamite outrages in the capital. Considering the disturbed relations of Italy and France, it looked for a moment as if there would be a repetition of the outcry aroused by the Orsini crime of 1858, directed this time, however, against Italy. But the genuine sorrow exhibited by the Italian people, by nature and long association the friends of France, calmed the threatening storm. Sadi Carnot, whose tenure at the Elysée had been nearly over, since he had determined not to seek re-election, had sustained the *rôle* of President with dignity, and his presidency, although troubled by the Boulangist agitation and the Panama scandal, had done much to enhance the stability and prestige of the Republic. Being taken unawares, the Versailles Assembly elected in his stead M. Jean Casimir-Périer, the son of Thiers's minister, and the grandson of the famous premier in the early days of the July Monarchy. On the fall of Floquet, Casimir-Périer had succeeded him as President of the Chamber; this office he abandoned on December 3, 1893, when he became Premier, and he had been out of office only two months when he was called to the

highest dignity. Coming of an opulent and distinguished family, the electors looked to find in him a firm and wise administrator. In point of fact he became almost immediately the butt of the Radical-Socialist press, and in little more than six months resigned in disgust. One memorable event occurred during his presidency—the first scene in the Dreyfus case.

Alfred Dreyfus was born at Mulhouse, in Alsace, of Jewish parentage, in 1859; but after the *débâcle* his people elected to retain their French citizenship, and removed from the lost provinces. Alfred was educated at the *École Polytechnique* and the military school at Fontainebleau. In October 1880 he entered the army as lieutenant in the 31st Regiment of Artillery. Nine years later he was promoted captain, and in April 1890 entered the *École Supérieure de Guerre*. From here he passed out with credit, and on January 1, 1893, commenced work as a subordinate officer on the General Staff. Up till this moment a brilliant career seemed assured him. Then suddenly he was struck down. On Saturday, 13th October, he received an official note requesting his presence at the War Office at 9 a.m. on the Monday, and in plain clothes. Obeying the summons quite unsuspectingly, he was received by Commandant Picquart, who presently conducted him into the room of the Chief of Staff. The Chief was not present, but Commandant du Paty de Clam, on the excuse of a cut finger, requested Captain Dreyfus to take down a letter from dictation in the presence of three gentlemen, who were afterwards identified as police agents. Surprised by the request, but much more by the manner in which it was made, Dreyfus obeyed. After du Paty had made

several interruptions, the letter was finished; a moment later M. Dreyfus found himself arrested, and searched, on a charge of high treason. He was immediately conveyed by Commandant Henry, who had been listening behind a curtain, to the Cherche Midi prison, where he was placed in solitary confinement, and denied all communication with the outside world. His only visitor was du Paty de Clam, who arrived most evenings with his clerk, and caused the unhappy man to write out at dictation sentences and words alleged to be taken from the incriminating document, or *bordereau*. It was not until the fifteenth day after his arrest that du Paty showed Dreyfus this letter, and then only in a photographic reproduction. From it he learned that he was accused of betraying military secrets to a foreign Power.

By command of the Minister of War, General Mercier, an inquiry was instituted on 3rd November. Two handwriting experts declared the accused innocent; three pronounced him guilty. On the 19th the secret trial began. Commandants du Paty de Clam and Henry distorted certain conversations of the prisoner into an admission of guilt; the judges were privately informed by Mercier's order of the existence of other incriminating documents. Giving credence to these allegations, the judges affirmed his guilt, and sentence of public degradation and transportation was promulgated. On 5th January Captain Dreyfus was stripped of the insignia of his rank in front of the *École Militaire*, removed to the common gaol beside the pont de l'Alma, and last of all deposited in the prison of La Santé. A few days later he was secretly conveyed to the *Île de Ré*; on 21st February he was put on board the *Saint*

Nazaire convict ship, and on 15th March landed on the Île Royale. On 13th April he arrived at his final destination—the ex-leper station bearing the hideous name of the Île du Diable. Here, in the pestilential Îles du Salut, the miserable man underwent a living death for four years. Living in solitary confinement, weakened by disease, by want of food, by every kind of indignity, he never for a moment abandoned hope of ultimate deliverance, though discouraged time after time by the rejection of the piteous appeals of himself and his family. “I live,” he wrote, “in hope; I live in the conviction that it is impossible that the truth should not come to light; that my innocence shall not be recognized and proclaimed by this dear France, my native land.”

Ten days after the degradation of Captain Dreyfus—that is to say, on January 15, 1895—President Casimir-Périer resigned. On the 17th the Assembly filled his place by the election of M. François Félix Faure, passing over the claims of the Radical M. Brisson and of M. Waldeck-Rousseau. In early days Faure had been associated with Gambetta, but of late belonged to the moderate Republicans. Unlike most of the presidents of the Third Republic, he was engaged not in law but in trade; and although he had sat in Parliament for twelve years, he had never been Premier, and had only once been included in the Cabinet—in the Dupuy Cabinet of 1894, where he was Minister of Marine. His elevation from comparative obscurity came, therefore, as something in the nature of a surprise. Possessed of restless energy, and the most polite of manners, he rapidly gained popularity—a popularity, however, which was dimmed

later on by the suspicions of Radicals in regard to his love of all the show and pageantry of power, and his partiality for royalty.

The first noteworthy event in M. Faure's presidency was the announcement of the Russian alliance. Many as had been the signs of a cordial understanding between the two Powers, no one quite knew how far these constituted a definite engagement. Moreover, the Czar Alexander III. had lately died, and Frenchmen were not a little anxious to learn the mind of Nicholas II. Thunders of applause, therefore, greeted M. Hanotaux when, in the course of a speech in the Senate on June 10, 1895, he pronounced, though somewhat diffidently, the shibboleth "Alliance." But the new Czar went further than this. Ever since the fall of the Empire the crowned heads of Europe had treated France as the black sheep of the family. After the unwelcome official visit of the Emperor William I. to the outskirts of Paris on March 2, 1871, no reigning monarch condescended to honour the republican capital with his royal presence. But Nicholas II. now broke through this convention, and on October 10, 1896, arrived in Paris with his young wife on a State visit. His courtesy was well repaid by the enthusiastic reception accorded him; nothing like it had been seen since the glittering days of Napoleon III. From that day, after a lapse of a quarter of a century, France resumed her equality with the great nations. The ice once broken, and that by a Czar of Russia, other monarchs soon came too; while in August 1897, President Faure went on a return visit to St. Petersburg, was lodged in the Peterhof Palace, and accorded sovereign honours.

At this time, too, came the first signs of a greater

stability in the parliamentary *régime*. The Ribot Ministry of January 26, 1895, lasted indeed but nine months, and its successor, under Léon Bourgeois, only six; but on April 29, 1896, M. Méline formed a Cabinet which held together for twenty-six months—longer than any Cabinet since 1875. Counting from MacMahon's resignation, there were fourteen ministries in the ten years to 1889, thirteen in the decade to 1899, and only five in 1899–1909. Thereafter a decline set in again, and in the final five years up to the opening of the Great War no less than ten ministries rose and fell. Several causes go to explain these lightning-like ministerial changes besides the natural impulsiveness of the French character. Thus, for example, a change of ministry does not necessarily imply a change of policy; most new Cabinets retain in office a considerable proportion of the former ministry, and ex-premiers quite readily accept office under their former subordinates. In fact it is not in the least uncommon to find three or four ex-premiers contained in a single Cabinet. And, again, especially since the monarchical question has been settled, there is nothing in the nature of a two-party system in modern France. The Chambers are split up into a number of factions or groups of greater and lesser numbers, and it is sudden and unexpected combinations of these which occasion the downfalls of premiers. All that the President of the Republic does in such a crisis is to call upon the ex-Premier to form a fresh Cabinet; or, failing him, some other statesman who will be likely to secure a majority. There is no instance since MacMahon's ill-advised election of 1877 of the President exercising his prerogative (with the consent of the Senate) of dissolving Parliament.

During the Méline administration attention was drawn to the prisoner on the Devil's Island. Late in 1897 M. Scheurer-Kestner, an Alsatian senator, and Vice-President of the Senate, appealed to the Premier and General Billot, the Minister of War, on behalf of Captain Dreyfus ; but in vain. Already, too, Colonel Picquart, chief of the intelligence department of the War Office, had ranged himself on the side of Dreyfus, and declared his suspicions that the *bordereau* was the work of a Major Esterhazy. All he got for his candour was relegation to dangerous military duties in Tunis, while his post at the War Office was filled by Colonel Henry. Esterhazy, on his part, declared the allegations of Picquart to have been induced by bribery. By this time the *affaire* had assumed tremendous importance in the eyes of the people, and all France had become divided into two camps, ranged under the Dreyfusard and anti-Dreyfusard banners. The Government, therefore, in order to clear Esterhazy, commanded General de Pellieux to hold an inquiry into the charges against him ; declared that the honour of the army was compromised by the allegations of Dreyfus's innocence ; and secured Esterhazy's triumphant acquittal (January 1898).

But other forces now came into play. On 13th January M. Zola published in the *Aurore* a categorical accusation against the War Office officials, in the form of an open letter to the President of the Republic. " I accuse," he wrote, " Major du Paty de Clam and General Mercier of having been, the one of them the diabolical instrument, the other the accomplice of one of the greatest iniquities of this century. I accuse General Billot, Generals Gonse and de Boisdeffre, of having hushed up the proofs of Alfred Dreyfus's inno-

cence, out of *esprit de corps*, and to save the compromised Staff. I accuse General de Pellieux and Major Ravary of having carried out an iniquitous investigation. I accuse the experts of lying." * Seldom had the great exponent of realism wielded his literary sword with more telling effect. Promptly M. Méline retaliated by a prosecution. Zola was condemned to a fine of 3,000 francs and a year in gaol, despite the evidence of Colonel Picquart and of a number of experts, who sought to show that Esterhazy's handwriting bore precisely those similarities to the writing of the *bordereau* which Dreyfus's lacked. As for Picquart, his reward was expulsion from the army. In April Zola successfully appealed to the Cour de Cassation. But on 18th June, at a second trial, he was again convicted, though, warned in time, he had already fled the country. His courage had not been in vain. By this time all the Socialists, including Clemenceau and Jaurès, were ranged on the side of the lonely prisoner in the Île du Diable, together with a considerable proportion of public opinion.

When, in June, the long Méline Ministry ended, the Dreyfusard deputies renewed their appeals to M. Brisson. Thereupon the War Minister, M. Cavaignac, son of Louis-Napoleon's rival of 1848, produced in the Chamber fresh "proofs" of Captain Dreyfus's guilt. So electric was the effect of these revelations that the Minister's speech was accorded the honour of being posted up in all the communes of France by a resolution of the deputies; and Colonel Picquart, having impugned the authenticity of the new evidence, was immediately cast into prison. Then suddenly, to the astonishment of every one, Colonel Henry confessed

* F. Lawton, *The Third French Republic*, p. 176.

that the document read by Cavaignac was a forgery, of which he was the author. Arrested on 30th August, he committed suicide the next day. Thus confusion was confounded. There was now nothing left for it but to remit the case against Captain Dreyfus to the courts, which the Brisson Government accordingly did just before quitting office in November. For the fourth and last time M. Charles Dupuy became Premier, retaining in office M. Delcassé, whom his predecessor had appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

But this change of Government was of no advantage to Captain Dreyfus. So strongly determined was the official mind to shield the War Office that in December, with the connivance of President Faure, a law was actually passed removing the Dreyfus case from the criminal division of the Cour de Cassation to a full court of three divisions—and all this manœuvring because of indications that the petition for a fresh trial would be granted. The *affaire* had indeed long since ceased to centre round the personality of M. Dreyfus, and had become a raging conflict into which every political faction precipitated itself headlong. The majority, composed of moderate Republicans, Clericals, and anti-Semites were hostile to the accused; against them were ranged some Radicals and all the Socialists and anti-Clericals. No party considered it had done its duty until it had thrown its weight into one scale or the other. At the opening of 1899 the prospects of Captain Dreyfus looked gloomier than ever.

We must now turn aside into foreign politics. When, in May 1894, Great Britain concluded an agreement with Belgium delimiting the boundaries of the Congo, French protests had secured a re-

arrangement by which France gained access to the basin of the Upper Ubanghi (August 14, 1894). Great Britain then emphasized her claims to the entire Nile Valley, which were disputed by France. At the end of 1895 Lord Salisbury informed the French Government of the projected advance of the Anglo-Egyptian army southwards to Dongola. To counterbalance this, the French dispatched an expedition under Captain Marchand, with orders to advance from the Ubanghi and establish a French post on the Nile. On June 25, 1896, M. Marchand set out for Africa. Time went by, and after the English army had advanced south of Dongola a systematic reconquest of the Khedive's revolted provinces, then under the sway of the Khalifa, was undertaken. And so began a race to the Upper Nile between the Sirdar (Sir Herbert Kitchener) and Captain Marchand. On August 2, 1898, Lord Salisbury directed the Sirdar, after occupying Khartum, to proceed southwards down the White Nile, warning him at the same time that "in dealing with any French or Abyssinian authorities who may be encountered nothing should be said or done which would in any way imply a recognition on behalf of her Majesty's Government of a title to possession on behalf of France or Abyssinia to any portion of the Nile Valley."

Five days after the Battle of Omdurman, fought on September 2, 1898, the Sirdar reported the presence of a small French expedition at Fashoda. On the 10th he started down the Nile, and on the 19th met M. Marchand at Fashoda. Here he learned that the French had arrived on 10th July, had beaten off a powerful Dervish force on the 25th of August, and were in hourly danger of a fresh attack. In view of

Sir Herbert Kitchener's firmness, M. Marchand felt himself unable to resist the hoisting of the Egyptian flag, which was accordingly run up at 1 p.m. "The claims of M. Marchand to have occupied the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Fashoda provinces with the force at his disposal would be ludicrous," reported General Kitchener, "did not the sufferings and privations his expedition endured during their two years' arduous journey render the futility of their efforts pathetic." Nevertheless, a prolonged discussion arose between the English and French governments. Although the two countries had already, on 14th June, concluded an agreement adjusting their respective spheres of influence in Africa, the French held out now for two months, in the hope that having got to the Nile Valley first they might maintain themselves there, and so in some way secure compensation for the loss of influence in Egypt incurred by the defection of France at the bombardment of Alexandria. But England refused to recognize the rights of any government except that of the Khedive, on whose behalf she was acting. For the time being acute tension existed between the two Powers, M. Delcassé being as firm as Lord Salisbury. "I said to his Excellency," telegraphed Sir E. Monson, the ambassador at Paris, on 18th September, "that I must tell him very frankly that the situation on the Upper Nile is a dangerous one . . . and I must distinctly state that Fashoda falls within the territories therein designated as dependencies of the Khalifate, and that her Majesty's Government are determined to hold to the decision already announced to him. It was right I should state to him categorically that they would not consent to a compromise on this point." Finally the discus-

sion, conducted with admirable restraint on both sides, terminated by the withdrawal of Captain Marchand's mission (6th November).

On February 16, 1899, M. Faure died from apoplexy, and it was necessary to elect another President. M. Méline, the ex-Premier, and M. Charles Dupuy, the Premier, appeared amongst the candidates, both of them anti-Dreyfusards. But the choice of the Assembly fell upon M. Émile Loubet, President of the Senate, a moderate Republican of the Left, hostile to the plebiscitary party, and not unfavourable to a reopening of the *affaire Dreyfus*. In no way a genius, M. Loubet had sat in Parliament for over twenty years, though it was unfortunate for him that his single term of office as Premier was clouded over by the Panama scandal. A lawyer by profession, he was sixty years old on his elevation to the supreme dignity. The early days of his presidency were stormy. He was made the subject of a hostile demonstration on his return from the Versailles election, M. Déroulède, still a foremost advocate of the *plébiscite*, vainly endeavouring to induce General Roget to march his troops on the Elysée, take possession of the executive power, and appeal to the people. Further, on 4th June, the day after the Court of Cassation had assented to Dreyfus's appeal, a number of malcontents hustled the President on the Auteuil racecourse, and one of them struck him with a walking-stick. But these were isolated acts of violence which found no re-echo in the country.

News of the court's decision was transmitted immediately to the Devil's Island, and on Monday, 5th June, the prisoner learned that his condemnation was quashed; that the cruiser *Sfax* was

ready to bring him home to a fresh trial at Rennes ; and that, in the meantime, he was to be given back his uniform and regarded simply as a prisoner under arrest. "My joy," he wrote, "was boundless, unutterable. At last I was escaping from the rock to which I had been bound for five years. . . . Happiness succeeded the horror of that inexpressible anguish. The day of justice was at last dawning for me." But he was mistaken. That bitter prejudice which had poisoned truth was not yet innocuous. At the Rennes court-martial, which opened on 9th August, the old "evidence" was trumped up again, and not all the great ability of his counsel, *Maitres Demange and Labori*, was able to secure an acquittal. Early in September the military judges by five votes to two again declared him guilty, adding, however, as if ashamed of their own decision, the illogical rider, "with extenuating circumstances." Four days later General de Gallifet, Minister of War, sent M. *Matthieu Dreyfus* to offer his brother a pardon on condition of the withdrawal of his appeal. Reluctantly Captain Dreyfus yielded to the persuasions of his friends, and accepted the proffered pardon. On the very day of his liberation he made a public declaration of his innocence. "The Government of the Republic," he wrote, "gives me back my liberty. It is valueless to me without honour. From this day I shall continue to demand the reparation of the frightful judicial error of which I am still the victim." It took five years to secure a third trial, and it was seven years before France at last handsomely acknowledged her error, restored Captain Dreyfus to the army, and promoted him.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau, once associated with Gam-

betta's *grand ministère*, now a successful barrister with Conservative sympathies, formed the last Cabinet of the century. To the surprise of all, he included amongst his colleagues the Socialist M. Millerand as Minister of Commerce and Industry. Once the Dreyfus trial was got out of the way, the Premier proceeded to strengthen the Republic by paring the claws of her adversaries. When, in June 1900—the year of the fifth Paris International Exhibition—General André, a Dreyfusard, succeeded de Gallifet at the War Office, measures were taken to stifle the Royalist-Imperialist sympathies current in military circles. As a consequence of a regulation requiring all promotions to be submitted to the Minister of War for approval, there were many resignations, including that of General Jamont, the Vice-President of the *Conseil supérieur de la Guerre*—the officer destined for the High Command in the event of war.

But if the High Command was suspected of disloyalty towards the Republic, much more so was the Church, and especially the religious orders. In December 1900 M. Waldeck-Rousseau presented to Parliament the result of an inquiry into the orders, which showed that they held property worth upwards of £40,000,000, and that their inmates exceeded the number of religious in 1788. Practically none of the orders had received authorization since the days of Charles X., and only a few then, nor were they mentioned in the *Concordat*. Weapons, therefore, were ready to hand for their enemies. After a six months' parliamentary struggle, in the course of which the Premier persistently disclaimed hostility to the parochial clergy or to the *Concordat*, the Law of Associations was promulgated by the

President on July 2, 1901. By this law all religious orders were compelled to apply for authorization.

The year 1902 was the year for a general election. A large majority favourable to the Government was returned. But almost immediately afterwards M. Waldeck-Rousseau resigned owing to ill-health (June 3, 1902). After some delay he was succeeded by M. Emile Combes, a doctor originally educated for the priesthood in a seminary, elected senator for Charente-Inférieure in 1885, who had held the portfolio of Education under Léon Bourgeois in 1895, and had recently made himself prominent by his bitter anti-Clericalism. Immediately he assumed office the new Premier announced anti-Clericalism as his whole policy, and threw himself energetically into the fray. With a complete disregard of his predecessor's assurances and moderation, he systematically wiped out the religious orders by the refusal of authorization. They were therefore dissolved, and by a further Act liberty of instruction was denied to their members. Thus the powerful educational influence of the Church was swept away almost at one stroke. The final rupture was brought about in April 1904, when M. Loubet went to Rome on an official visit to the King of Italy, and omitted to pay his respects at the Vatican. The Pope, being an independent sovereign, had a right to expect this courtesy, and protested at the slight offered him. M. Combes's Government eagerly seized upon this protest, and recalled their ambassador at the Vatican—a proceeding the Chamber endorsed by a large vote on 27th May. After the Pope had summoned two accused bishops to Rome without consultation with the French Government, M. Combes broke off diplomatic relations altogether (July 30, 1904).

The road was now clear for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church.

General André, whose services had been retained by M. Combes, having purged the army of Royalism, next set to work upon the Clericalist soldiers. A system of espionage was inaugurated by the help of the Grand Orient Lodge of Freemasons. Under it every officer known to be a practising Catholic was placed on a War Office black list. Knowledge of these investigations, so contrary to the most elementary ideas of justice, being brought to the *Figaro* newspaper, they were denounced in a series of articles. A storm of indignation arose in the country and in Parliament, and the War Minister was forced into resignation before the end of the year. Although the Cabinet dragged on for a few weeks more, their prestige was irretrievably shaken, and on January 18, 1905, M. Combes resigned. His successor was M. Rouvier, a moderate of the Waldeck-Rousseau stamp. Although the Premier himself stood aloof in the matter, the policy of his Government was announced to include disestablishment, and on 21st March the debate began. The reporter of the Bill was M. Aristide Briand, Socialist member for St. Etienne, who won golden opinions for his courteous firmness, coupled with a complete absence of that spirit of vindictiveness which had characterized M. Combes. After a long and impassioned discussion the Bill passed the Chamber on 3rd July, and the Senate on 6th December. Under its provisions the salaries paid to the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy were abolished, a pension being granted, however, to the then clergy for their lifetimes. The episcopal palaces, presbyteries, and seminaries were con-

fiscated to the State at the expiry of a period of grace never exceeding five years; while the churches themselves were handed over to local *associations cultuelles* in trust for the purposes of public worship. When the Separation Law came into force at the end of 1906, the clergy, at the bidding of the Vatican, adopted a *non possumus* attitude, and refused to recognize the *associations cultuelles*. Therefore they were expelled from their residences and seminaries forthwith, but left in the possession of their churches. The Protestants and Jews conformed.

XXIII.

GATHERING CLOUDS.

BY the commencement of the twentieth century France was again reckoned amongst the Great Powers, and European sovereigns put up once more in her capital. The first king to follow the Czar's lead was Edward VII.—ever popular in France—in May 1903; while in October of the same year came the King and Queen of Italy. These visits were returned by M. Loubet, who met with receptions just as cordial as that given to President Faure in Russia in 1897. The Czar, indeed, had come a second time to France in 1901; but just at that time Frenchmen were inclined to feel that Russia was getting more than she gave, and the popularity of the Alliance was perceptibly less. When, in 1904, Russia commenced her disastrous war in the Far East, the confidence of her ally was still further diminished. On the other hand, after the accession of King Edward, the old Anglophobia of the eighties and nineties diminished, and the two nations confronting one another across the Channel gradually drew together. Germany, too, had for many years pursued a pacific policy, and if the yearly pilgrimages to replace the mourning wreaths on the Strasbourg statue still con-

tinued, yet the fires of revenge seemed to have burnt themselves out.

The colonial policy inaugurated by Jules Ferry had been steadily continued, so that France had subjected almost the whole of North Africa to her influence. From the Niger to the Nile, and from the Mediterranean to the Sahara, the French flag waved undisturbed. All this had been achieved by arrangement with England, and without any movement upon the part of Germany. After Fashoda an Anglo-French Convention had adjusted boundaries, and Lord Salisbury's Government had then acknowledged the pre-eminence of French influence in Morocco (March 21, 1899). Further, on April 8, 1904, as a corollary to the recent state visit of King Edward, another convention was signed. This allowed England a free hand in Egypt, and a like concession was made to France in Morocco. All other outstanding questions—such as the interminable Newfoundland fisheries dispute—were cleared up at the same time. These terms being communicated to Berlin, no objection was raised.

But, in point of fact, a great change had come over Germany of late. Originally, Bismarck had disclaimed the idea of building up a colonial empire, contenting himself with consolidating Germany in Europe; while by the Triple Alliance he had sought to make Germany predominant in Europe. "Is there any case on record," asked Lord Lytton, then Secretary of the Paris Embassy, on October 27, 1874, "of an inland state suddenly attaining to the military supremacy of Europe without endeavouring by means of its military strength and prestige to develop its maritime power?—But," he added, "you can't be a

maritime power without colonies. . . . Anyhow, there seems to be now a pretty general instinct . . . that a policy of maritime and colonial development must be the natural result of Germany's present position." These words were occasioned by a communication from Lord Odo Russell at Berlin, asserting that Bismarck did not want colonies. Circumstances have shown that Lord Lytton was right, and that Bismarck was wrong. A number of influential German business men began to impress upon the Chancellor the necessity of gaining colonies. Therefore, in 1883, Bismarck opened up negotiations with Lord Salisbury over Namaqualand, where Herr Luderitz had commenced to trade; and in the following year German South-West Africa was established, closely followed by the annexation of Togoland and the Cameroons. In 1885 German East Africa was founded by a colonizing company. At the same time acquisitions were made in the Pacific, commencing with the Bismarck Archipelago in 1884, and ending with Samoa in 1899; while in 1897 China was compelled to lease Kiaochow in reparation for the murder of two priests.

Almost against her will Germany commenced building up a colonial empire. The statesmen under William II. gave more attention to the colonies, which were now placed under the jurisdiction of the Crown instead of being left to fend for themselves. But the question was a difficult one, since—Germany starting so late in the race for overseas expansion—all the most valuable territories had been seized on by other Powers. Thus, in 1907, after twenty years of labour, and when German industry had encircled the world with the great Hamburg-American, North-German-Lloyd, and other steamship lines, trade be-

tween the Fatherland and the colonies was worth less than three and a half million pounds sterling. Since 1870 the population of Germany had increased from 40,000,000 to 60,000,000; while, with the national genius for organization, and the admirable system of technical and scientific education, commerce and industry had developed so rapidly that Germany was nearing the day when she would be the greatest manufacturing country in the world. The problem of finding an outlet for her trade and protection for her mercantile marine weighed heavily upon a nation whose natural coast line was occupied by two small independent states—Holland and Belgium.

The first indications of a change in German foreign policy appeared in the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid (1895-96). But when, three years later, the Boer War broke out, and the two South African republics were incorporated into the British Empire, Germany's last hope of acquiring valuable territory on the African continent vanished. She determined, nevertheless, to recruit her strength until she should be able to challenge the greatest nation of the world both on sea and on land. Ostensibly to protect her mercantile marine and assure the security of her colonies, a Navy Bill was passed in 1900 laying down a programme of warships to be built for a fixed period of years. But the preamble conveyed a distinct menace: "Germany must have a fleet of such strength that even for the greatest naval Power a war with her would involve such dangers as to threaten its own supremacy." This could only mean that Germany meant to make herself as powerful at sea as she was already on land. With the national worship of militarism, Germany in

the future would be able to wrest from her rivals, by threat or by force, the colonies she needed.

For a quarter of a century the balance of power on the Continent had been maintained by the counterpoising of France and Russia against Germany, Austria, and Italy. Great Britain stood aloof, preserving an attitude of friendly neutrality towards all Powers. It was with some trepidation, therefore, that William II. and his advisers saw the beginnings of a friendship between France and England. Suddenly Germany threw off the mask and declared herself. In 1904 she had offered no opposition to the Franco-British Moroccan agreement; but things changed by the spring of 1905. Russia's armies had received a severe set-back in the battle of Mukden; while the greater part of her navy, by slow stages, was painfully making its way towards inevitable destruction in the Sea of Japan. These misfortunes served to bring down the popularity of the alliance in the eyes of Frenchmen to zero point. On the other hand, they were Germany's opportunity. Russia's popularity was low, and in any case, in her exhausted condition, she would be incapable of rendering France military assistance for some time to come. And, further, the new understanding with Great Britain was not of a binding character. Great Britain's policy was pacific, and she would not be likely to go to war in the interests of some other Power. At the very moment of France's temporary isolation Germany struck. On April 2, 1905, the German Emperor, then on a Mediterranean tour, made a speech at Tangier emphasizing the commercial interests of his subjects in Morocco, and concluding with the declaration that he "would never allow any other Power to step be-

tween him and a free sovereign and free country." This was a direct challenge to France, and to Spain and Great Britain, which had concluded Moroccan agreements with her. It was followed up by a mission of the German Ambassador at Lisbon to the Kaiser's "free sovereign"—the Sultan of Morocco—at Fez, and also by a threat of war conveyed to France through the German Ambassador at Rome. In this alarming crisis M. Delcassé maintained a firm attitude at the Quai d'Orsay, refusing to countenance the Kaiser's demand for an international Moroccan Conference summoned by the Sultan. But the Premier, M. Rouvier, was more conciliatory, and on June 6, 1905, Delcassé resigned. Then France assented to the conference. Delegates from all the Powers assembled at Algeciras in January 1906, and concluded their labours in April. The Moorish police were placed under the command of a Swiss inspector-general, assisted by some fifty French and Spanish officers. The importation of arms was forbidden. A State bank was set up. The customs and taxes were regulated. Substantially, Morocco was neutralized, and Germany gained a diplomatic victory. William II. showed his gratitude to the Imperial Chancellor by creating him *Prince* von Bülow upon the fall of M. Delcassé.

For many years past it had been understood that the plans of the German Staff, in the event of a fresh war with France, involved an invasion of her territories by way of Belgium. Having Russia also to meet on the east, the Germans dared not risk the delay in crushing France which might occur in the event of the line of fortresses in Lorraine holding out for any length of time. Great Britain, her fears aroused by

the events of 1905, now began to take measures for the defence of the threatened Belgian neutrality. In January 1906 Lieutenant-Colonel Barnardiston, military attaché at Brussels, opened up negotiations with the Belgian military authorities. He communicated the plan of the British General Staff to land a force of 100,000 at the north-east ports of France, and march them with all speed into Belgium. When, in the following September, the Belgian Chief of Staff went to the French manœuvres at Compiègne, he was told by General Grierson that the British had perfected arrangements for their expeditionary force, and, should occasion require it, they could land 150,000 men with very little delay. Coupled with the threat to her fleet occasioned by the German Navy Law of 1900, and with the new German colonial policy, it was gradually becoming clear that, should France be attacked through Belgium, Great Britain would be forced to throw in her lot with France and Russia. A further step in the development of the triple *entente* was reached when an Anglo-Russian agreement settled the outstanding Asiatic rivalries of the two nations (August 31, 1907).

Meanwhile, in France M. Loubet had concluded his presidency, and M. Fallières, another lawyer-president of the Senate and a Moderate, had been installed at the Elysée (February 18, 1906). Next month the Rouvier Cabinet gave place to M. Sarrien, who gathered round him a galaxy of talent, notably Raymond Poincaré, the foremost member of the Parisian bar, and M. Briand; but the leading spirit of the new administration was the Radical Clemenceau, that destroyer of Cabinets who had been instrumental in the selection of the last three presidents at Ver-

sailles, who now for the first time accepted office, taking the portfolio of the Interior. In October ill-health compelled M. Sarrien's retirement, and Clemenceau became Premier. He deliberately included in his two and a half years' Cabinet General Picquart, the bold defender of Dreyfus, and M. Viviani, a Socialist lawyer, who now became the first Minister of Labour. Viviani's selection was a symptom of the gradual growth of his party in succeeding elections. In 1898 about forty Socialists were elected to the Chamber. By 1906 this number had been doubled; in 1910 the combined Socialists gained 105 seats, and in 1914 132. Their advance was feared chiefly because Socialism in France stands rather as an appeal to the revolutionary instincts of the lower orders than for economic or social principles. Socialism portends a new Jacobinism, and is a nightmare to more moderate politicians.

On July 16, 1909, during the course of a Navy debate, a violent altercation arose between M. Delcassé and the Premier, who taunted him with being the cause of France's humiliation at Algeiras. After an imprudent speech by M. Clemenceau, the Chamber refused a vote of confidence, and he resigned. He was succeeded by Aristide Briand, who resigned after he had suppressed the great strike on the Nord, Midi, and Ouest-État railways by boldly placing the malcontents under military discipline. He was again entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet, and the second Briand administration commenced on November 2, 1910. Having broken with the Radical-Socialists, he again resigned (February 27, 1911), and was succeeded by M. Monis, a premier drawn from the party who had overthrown the late Government.

Except that it brought back M. Delcassé into office as Minister of Marine, there was nothing remarkable about the Monis Cabinet, and in June it gave way to M. Joseph Caillaux, a prominent Radical, who had been Minister of Finances under Waldeck-Rousseau. M. Delcassé remained in charge of the Navy.

Before M. Caillaux had been in office a week the German war cloud again appeared on the horizon. On 2nd July the German Ambassador, Herr von Schoen, announced to the French Government that his Government had sent the gunboat *Panther*—afterwards replaced by the *Berlin*—to Agadir to protect the lives and properties of German subjects in Morocco. As in the preceding April the French had been obliged to send a military expedition to Fez to rescue the besieged Sultan and the European colony, it was evident that the real nature of this new German move was to neutralize the activity of the French in the Sultan's dominions, although Germany had consented to the expedition. When, on 4th July, Count Metternich had a conversation with the English Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey frankly told him that this action had created "a new situation," and that "the British Government were disturbed on account of possible future developments directly affecting British interests." To this Metternich replied that "the Imperial Government had absolutely no wish to exclude England from a new arrangement of things, or to prevent any possible safeguarding of British interests in Morocco." A long negotiation followed between France and Germany, the French Government keeping London well posted up with information throughout the several stages. The attitude of Germany was the more inexplicable because,

on February 8, 1909, she had concerted a Declaration with M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Berlin, stating that "the Imperial German Government, pursuing only economic interests in Morocco, recognizing, on the other hand, that the special political interests of France in that country are closely bound up with the consolidation of order and internal peace, and being resolved not to impede those interests, declare that they do not pursue nor encourage any measure of a nature to create in their favour, or in that of any other Power, an economic privilege, and that they will endeavour to associate their nationals in affairs for which the latter may obtain a concession."

It was not until 4th November that a Convention was signed between France, morally supported by England, and Germany, clearing up the matter. This Convention purported to be a more precise definition of the Declaration of 8th February. Under its terms the Morocco State Bank was left undisturbed; but the right of France to maintain a military occupation for the purpose of keeping order was admitted; while the French consuls were recognized as the representatives of Moroccan interests abroad, subject to the Sultan's consent. On her part, France agreed to assure equal rights for traders of all nations. In addition, she ceded 275,000 square kilometres of territory bordering on the Cameroons, thus giving Germany access to the Congo and the Ubanghi, in return for 12,000 square kilometres on the Logone. France, therefore, held her ground in Morocco, though she was obliged to give compensations elsewhere. The incident, which had occasioned imminent risk of war, was disposed of in the Reichstag by the Chan-

cellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, in a speech during the course of which he said: "I must here make it quite clear, in order to contradict the misleading statements of the foreign and also of our own press, that his Majesty the Emperor commanded that the (military) programme, which was already drawn up in May last, should be adhered to throughout all the phases of the negotiations, fully realizing that every political action of a Great Power can evoke the fateful question of war or peace, and fully prepared to draw the sword in defence of the nation's honour. . . . As a matter of fact, there never at any moment existed the slightest doubt as to the complete readiness for war of the army and navy. The reports which are now being spread abroad to the effect that at a confidential council our readiness for war, especially as regards the navy, was questioned, are pure inventions."

But the moment was not favourable for war. Germany found England behind France. In a secret memorandum on the new German Military Law of 1913, which came into the hands of M. Cambon at Berlin, occur these two statements: (1) "The Conference of Algeciras has removed the last doubt with regard to the existence of an *entente* between France, Great Britain, and Russia. . . . (2) The French having violated the Morocco Conventions, brought on the incident of Agadir. At that time the progress made by the French army, the moral recovery of the nation, the technical advance in the realm of aviation and of machine guns, rendered an attack on France less easy than in the previous period. Further, an attack by the British fleet had to be considered. . . . Neither the ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French Chauvinists, nor the Englishmen's gnashing of teeth,

nor the wild gestures of the Slavs will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending *Deutschtum* (German influence) all the world over." Germany having to face an awakened France, supported by the British navy, drew back. Thenceforth, however, she took the possibility of English co-operation into serious account. In consequence, in each of the years following Morocco, the Anglo-Russian agreement, and Agadir, additions were made to her pre-arranged naval programme—in 1906, 1908, and 1912. Great Britain, on her part, in addition to consultations between the English and French General Staffs, renewed her conversations at Brussels. On April 23, 1912, Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges informed General Jungbluth that Great Britain had ready a force of six divisions of infantry and eight brigades of cavalry—in all 160,000 men—in case of the violation of Belgian neutrality. Nevertheless, later on in the year, after the outbreak of the Balkan War, Sir Edward Grey wrote to the French Ambassador reminding him that the informal military consultations between the two countries must not be considered as binding, Great Britain preserving entire liberty of action (November 22, 1912). "I agree," he concluded, "that if either government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, or something which threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common." There were thus clearly two factors which might drag Great Britain into a Franco-German war—a violation of Belgian neutrality or an unprovoked attack upon France.

When, in December 1911, the Treaty of 4th November was considered in the Chamber, sharp criticisms were passed upon the Government, and especially for their supposed dilatoriness in the recent negotiations. On January 10, 1912, M. Caillaux resigned, and on the 13th Raymond Poincaré got together a new Cabinet of exceptional strength. Included in it were Léon Bourgeois, Delcassé (again at the Ministry of Marine), and the two Socialists who had now thrown in their lot with the moderate Republicans—Millerand and Briand. The Premier reserved to himself the troublesome portfolio of Foreign Affairs. No great complications abroad occurred during the year, and the Government ruled with a firm hand at home. Political interest was chiefly centred in a proposal for the restoration of the *scrutin de liste*, accompanied by a scheme for proportional representation. The Bill was accepted by the Chamber before the summer adjournment. It was afterwards violently denounced by Clemenceau, and disowned by the Radical-Socialists, who had voted for it.

M. Poincaré became a candidate for the presidency at the election of January 1913. Among the other competitors were M. Pams, the Minister of Agriculture, M. Vaillant, M. Ribot, and M. Delcassé. M. Pams ran Poincaré closest, and twice beat him in the preliminary party votes. Thereupon M. Clemenceau invited him to retire, but he refused. His refusal was justified, for the Assembly elected him at the second ballot by 483 votes to M. Pams's 296. M. Poincaré soon made his presence felt by a message to the Senate defining the office of the president and its obligations. He gave the task of forming his first Cabinet to his colleague, Aristide Briand (January 21,

1913). The high hopes formed from M. Briand's conspicuous ability were soon disappointed by his defeat on the question of proportional representation (18th March). Two days later M. Barthou, a politician of the same complexion, succeeded him. He took the helm at a very critical time.

At the beginning of March the German Government had introduced a New Military Law. For some time past the French Government had feared a localized Franco-German war, or a war brought on so suddenly that Germany would be able to overwhelm France before Russia could move to her assistance. It was, therefore, with dismay that they saw fresh increments made to the numbers of the German standing army, and the army corps nearest the Franco-Belgian frontiers kept at very little under war strength. "The German effectives," reported the naval *attaché* at Berlin on March 15, 1913, "reach at the present moment 720,000 men. We are, therefore, entitled to conclude that on October 1, 1914, the new imperial army will be raised to a figure not far removed from 860,000." In the German secret memorandum on the New Military Laws it was laid down: "We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French. . . . We must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful swoop our enemies in the East and West. But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small states should be forced to follow or be subdued" (19th March). General von Moltke delivered himself in the same strain: "We must put on one side," he said, "all commonplaces as to the responsibility of the aggressor. When war has become necessary, it

is essential to carry it on in such a way as to place all the chances in one's own favour. Success alone justifies war. . . . We must anticipate our principal adversary as soon as there are nine chances to one of going to war, and begin it without delay, in order ruthlessly to crush all resistance."

On 4th March President Poincaré, supported by M. Briand, attended a meeting of the Supreme War Council. It was decided that, in order to meet the increase in the German standing army, France must return to the Three Years' Law. Against this decision the Socialists and Radical-Socialists engineered the most strenuous resistance, though a number of municipal bodies, and notably the Paris Municipal Council, gave it their cordial support. This was the situation when M. Barthou assumed office. In April an anti-German demonstration took place at Nancy railway station, and the situation was not eased by a German aeroplane, and afterwards a Zeppelin, landing in French territory at Lunéville. On 15th May the Premier announced that it had been decided to retain with the colours the class who would naturally have been released the following October. This declaration caused considerable dissatisfaction in the army, and was followed by disorder in the garrisons of Toul, Belfort, and elsewhere. The Chambers, however, adopted the Three Years' Law early in August, and it was arranged to call up two classes in October—the men of twenty and twenty-one.

On 4th June M. Poincaré arrived in London on a three days' visit, and met with a rousing welcome. In September he went on a progress in Languedoc, where the enthusiasm of his reception recalled the days of Napoleon III., and testified to the renewed

vitality of the nation and the personal popularity of the President. Politics, however, still remained in a very confused condition in the Chambers during the autumn, and on 2nd December the Cabinet was defeated over the eternal income-tax question. After MM. Ribot and Jean Dupuy had been unsuccessfully applied to, M. Gaston Doumergue got together a Radical Government on the 11th, pledged to the Three Years' Law, the traditional foreign policy, and a number of questions in home politics. The real power of the Ministry, however, lay in the Finance Minister, Caillaux. On 9th January the *Figaro* commenced a series of attacks upon him—first upon his financial integrity, and afterwards upon his private life. Infuriated by these revelations, Madame Caillaux called at the office of the newspaper in the rue Drouot, and shot the editor, Gaston Calmette, dead. Material was, therefore, ready to hand for one of those political scandals which have from time to time discredited the Republic. But when, on 20th July, the trial, at which the President gave evidence, commenced, circumstances had arisen which deflected public interest into another channel. In face of the plainest evidence a sentimental jury acquitted Madame Caillaux.

The elections of April–May 1914 were fought with more than usual vigour and determination, the point at issue being the Three Years' Law, still bitterly opposed by the extreme Left. There were 132 Socialists, 136 Radicals, 102 independent Radicals, 100 members of the Alliance démocratique returned, with 54 Progressists, and some 76 other deputies of the Right. These results jeopardized the Three Years' Law, and a prolonged ministerial crisis arose. On 9th June

M. Ribot formed a Cabinet pledged to support it, but immediately afterwards he was defeated in the Chamber. Finally, five days later, the Socialist M. Viviani became Premier, giving a general support to the principle of three years' service. The question of army reform was the more vital, since it was lately revealed that the arsenals and stores were deplorably deficient in necessary equipment.

In the midst of all this uncertainty M. Viviani received a telegram from the ambassador at Vienna, announcing that the Hereditary Archduke of Austria had that day been assassinated at Serajevo in Bosnia (June 28th). A grave situation instantly arose. Austria fixed the guilt upon Serbian emissaries, and assumed the complicity of the Serbian Government. Russia, as the protector of the Slav race, betrayed immediate anxiety. "No country," said M. Sazonoff to the Austro-Hungarian *chargé d'affaires* at St. Petersburg on 16th July, "has had to suffer more than Russia from crimes prepared on foreign territory. Have we ever claimed to employ in any country whatsoever the procedure with which your papers threaten Serbia? Do not embark on such a course." It was not until after President Poincaré and M. Viviani had gone on a visit to Russia that Austria showed her hand. On 23rd July her Minister delivered at Belgrade a note demanding that the Royal Government of Serbia should publish on the front page of the *Official Journal* of 26th July a declaration condemning all propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary; express regret that Serbian officers had taken part; and warn all officers implicated. Further, Serbia was required to publish this declaration as an official army order; to remove all hostile educa-

tional propaganda; to dismiss certain officers designated by the Austrian Government; to accept Austrian representatives to help in these measures; to prohibit the export of arms; to give an explanation regarding "the unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian officials, both in Serbia and abroad;" and finally to present an answer to these demands within forty-eight hours—that is, by 6 p.m. on Saturday, 25th July. "I have never before," said Sir Edward Grey to the Austrian Ambassador when he communicated this note on 24th July, "seen one State address to another independent State a document of so formidable a character." On the same day Baron von Schoen told M. Bienvenu-Martin (acting as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the absence of the Premier) that "the German Government consider that in the present case there is only question of a matter to be settled exclusively between Austria-Hungary and Serbia." Next day, the 25th, Serbia presented her reply. All the demands were granted except that for the collaboration of Austrian officials, which was only accepted subject to the reservation that the Serbian Government "declare that they will admit such collaboration as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighbourly relations." Upon receipt of this answer the Austrian Minister left Belgrade, and Serbia on her part ordered a mobilization.

Next day, 26th July, Sazonoff said to the Austrian Ambassador, Count Szapary, "Take back your ultimatum, modify its form, and I will guarantee you the result." The same day the German fleet was recalled from Norwegian waters, and certain army reservists placed under provisional warning. At

London, on the 27th, the Austro-German ambassadors declared that, in the event of war, England would stand aside. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs told the French *chargé d'affaires* that this assumption upon the part of Prince Lichnowsky was quite unwarrantable. On this day Sir E. Grey proposed that Paris, Rome, Berlin, and London should mediate at Vienna and St. Petersburg. To this the German Secretary of State, Herr von Jagow, replied that "Germany had engagements with Austria." On the 28th Austria declared war on Serbia, and commenced mobilization. Russia replied by a mobilization of thirteen army corps (29th July). M. Sazonoff's proposals for direct negotiations between Vienna and St. Petersburg were declined. On 29th July Germany informed him that if Russia did not cease her military preparations she would mobilize as well. This threat was repeated on the following day. M. Sazonoff replied by the offer of a declaration: "If Austria-Hungary, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian question had assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate the sovereign rights of Serbia, Russia engages to stop her military preparations." These words were modified on the 31st, at the suggestion of the English Cabinet. That day Austria instituted a general mobilization, and Russia on learning of this followed suit. The same day the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, telegraphed to Berlin: "We are quite prepared to entertain the proposal of Sir E. Grey to negotiate between us and Serbia;" while the Russian Ambassador at Vienna also telegraphed to M. Sazonoff: "In spite of the general mobilization, my exchange of

views with Count Berchtold and his colleagues continues." At St. Petersburg the Austrian Ambassador called on M. Sazonoff, and explained to him that his Government was willing to begin a discussion as to the basis of the ultimatum addressed to Serbia. That night, just when affairs looked hopeful, the German Ambassador gave M. Sazonoff a midnight call, and delivered an ultimatum, declaring that if Russia did not begin to demobilize within twelve hours the German Government would also mobilize. At 7.10 p.m. on Saturday, 1st August, the Ambassador communicated a note accusing Russia of mobilizing against *Germany*, and concluding, "His Majesty the Emperor, my august sovereign, in the name of the German Empire, accepts the challenge, and considers herself at war with Russia." On 6th August Austria also declared war.

Austria and Germany being at war with Russia, France, under the terms of her alliance, was dragged in. The eyes of her statesmen were now fixed on England. In the preceding April King George and Queen Mary had returned M. Poincaré's visit to London, and had been right royally received at Paris. Never had the two nations been on more intimate terms. Throughout this crisis their diplomatists had acted in concert. But Great Britain was bound under no alliance or treaty, and preserved entire freedom of action. Germany knew this as well as France. And on July 29th the Imperial Chancellor made a bold bid for her neutrality. He sent for the Ambassador, Sir E. Goschen, that night, and told him that "it was clear, so far as he was able to judge the main principle which governed British policy, that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to

be crushed in any conflict there might be. That, however, was not the object at which Germany aimed. Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue." "I asked his Excellency," reported the Ambassador to Sir E. Grey, "about the French colonies, and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect." These overtures the Foreign Secretary rejected, and on the 31st he inquired of Berlin and Paris what were their respective attitudes towards the maintenance of Belgian neutrality. Whether or not Great Britain would be drawn into the war on other grounds, her Cabinet made Belgium the first consideration. France gave an immediate assurance that she would leave Belgium undisturbed, unless its neutrality was violated by any other Power. Herr von Jagow replied vaguely that he could give no answer without consulting the Emperor and the Chancellor, and hinted that to give an answer would be to disclose the German plan of campaign. On 1st August Belgium intimated that she expected other Powers to observe and uphold her neutrality, which she would "maintain to the utmost of her power."

At 3.40 p.m. on Saturday 1st August President Poincaré ordered a general mobilization. Germany mobilized the same day. Very early on the next morning German troops entered the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. This was the prelude to an invasion of France. So anxious on their part were the French to avoid hostilities that three days

before, though their military plans were "conceived in the spirit of the offensive," they had withdrawn their troops to a uniform distance of ten kilometres from the frontier. But a new factor now came into play. Great Britain had for some time concentrated her fleet in the North Sea, and had left the French navy mistress of the Mediterranean, where France's maritime interests chiefly lay. This had only been possible owing to the mutual good will of the two Powers. If now the German fleet attacked the French Channel ports they would be undefended. The existence of the *entente cordiale* would, therefore, actually have been a hindrance to France should Great Britain stand aside. Mindful of this situation, the British Cabinet on the Sunday morning took the unusual step of giving the French Ambassador "an assurance that, if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power."

At 7 p.m. the same night the German Government delivered at Brussels an ultimatum with a time limit of twelve hours. In return for a guarantee of her restoration after the war, Belgium was requested to allow the German army a free passage through her territories. Next day, at 6.45 p.m., Herr von Schoen called on M. Viviani and handed in a note which, after falsely alleging "flagrantly hostile acts committed on German territory," informed him that the "German Empire considers itself in a state of war with France." Early on the morning of 4th August German troops violated the Belgian frontier at Gemmenich. Thereupon Sir Edward Grey sent the Ambassador at Berlin to the Secretary of State to repeat the request for

the observance of Belgian neutrality ; should a favourable answer not be forthcoming by midnight, "his Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as themselves." At 7 p.m. Sir E. Goschen saw Herr von Jagow, who replied that "the safety of the Empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the Imperial troops should advance through Belgium." The Ambassador then asked for his passports. He went on to take leave of the Chancellor. "I found," he said in his report, "the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by his Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree ; just for a word—'neutrality,' a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her."

At that hour the destinies of England and France were linked together. The puzzle was completed at last. The German desire for colonies, the German army, the German navy, the German military plans for an invasion through Belgium—all these scattered portions now fitted each into its place. The puzzle completed made up one picture—Germany supreme in the world. Bismarck had fought three great wars to make Germany supreme on the Continent ; William II. intended to make her master of the world. *Der Tag*—"The Day"—had come at last. Between German hopes and their realization lay just one obstacle—the united strength of France, Russia, and England.

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